

THE HISTORY
OF THE
BAHMANÎ DYNASTY.

FOUNDED ON THE BURHÂN-I MA'ÂSIR.

BY
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He had two sons Mujâhid Khân and Fath Khân	28
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His death	"

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The Rîya submits and agrees to pay <i>na'î bahâ</i> , also to deliver over a fortress (name not mentioned) [probably Raichûr or Âdoni]	29
While encamped on the bank of the river Kistnî, he is assassinated by his cousin Dî'ûd Khân	"

(Tazîarat ul Muluk)

Mujâhid Shâh entitled ' <i>Bahwânt</i> ,' <i>strong body</i>	30
Is a disciple of Sheikh Muhammad Sirâj-ud-Dîn	"
Besieges Âdoni Garrison about to surrender, owing to want of water The Sheikh withdraws his assurance of victory. Mujâhid much incensed against him	"
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(Tarjamat-ul Mulūk)

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Bahmani Kings whose capital was Bidar.

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(Tas̄lirat-ul-Mulūk.)

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PREFACE

ALL histories of the Bahmanî and succeeding Muhammadan dynasties of the Dakhṇ hitherto published, have been based upon Firishtah; but the history of the Bahmanî Kings which I now introduce, is based upon the *Burhān i Maʿāsir*, by All bin 'Aziz-Ullah Tabātabā — a work written several years before Firishtah's appeared. Though the two authors were contemporaries and probably met one another in Ahmadnagar, neither makes any mention of the other¹. We may presume that they both had access to the same works of reference in compiling the Bahmanî history, yet several remarkable discrepancies are observable, especially in the names and genealogy of some of the Kings. Where the difference occurs, the Bahman coins of the period — which are the most reliable evidence — corroborate the statement of our author, and negative that of Firishtah. Further evidence against Firishtah is to be found in the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk* — from which I have given several extracts — and in extracts from *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Āra* and *Sirāj-ul-Kulūb*. The latter written in A H 821 (British Lib.-Or 1964, fol 5b *et seq* and fol 34 — *vide* Dr Rien's Catalogue, p 1039). There may also be others which I have not yet seen.

The *Burhān-i Maʿāsir* is essentially a history of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, and derives its title from Burhan Nizām Shāh II (A H 999-1003), the reigning sovereign, under whose auspices the work was written. The title is also a chronogram recording the year when the work was commenced, *viz.*, A H 1000 (A D 1591), and the history is brought down to the latter part of A H 1004 (A D 1595-96).

¹ Firishtah left Ahmadnagar and proceeded to Bijāpur in A H 998 (A D 1599). Shortly after his arrival in the latter place he commenced writing his history under the auspices of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, but did not complete it till about A H 1033 (A D 1620-7). He mentions in the preface no less than thirty-five works which he consulted in the composition of his history and — according to Briggs — makes quotations from twenty others in the body of his work yet never mentions the *Burhān i Maʿāsir* unless he alludes to it under some other title. Professional jealousy probably accounts for this.

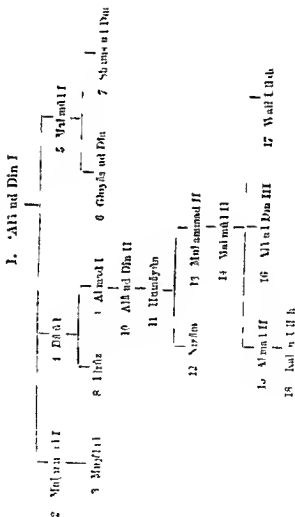
As I have before remarked (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXVII p 233), only three copies of this work are known to exist, and its extreme rarity doubtless accounts for its not having previously been brought to notice. The style of the *Burhān : Ma asir* is more ornate than Firishtah's history, and in general completeness is inferior to the latter, but, at the same time our author in many instances gives details not given by Firishtah, and relates the same occurrences in a different way, so the one work serves as a useful complement to the other. I have not thought it necessary to point out all the points of difference, as it would make the present work too elaborate. The reader can easily do that for himself, and with this and Briggs' *Translation of Firishtah* before him, he will have all the available raw material for a history of the Bahmani Dynasty, as far as it can be gathered from Persian historical MSS.

J S KING

Sultans of the Bahmani Dynasty.

Names	Dates of Accession		
	A. H.	A. D.	
'Alā'ud-Dīn Husayn ..	748	1347	
Muhammad I. .	759	1358	
Muḥḥud	775	1373	Assassinated
Dāud	780	1378	Do.
Muhammad II. ..	780	1378	
Ghiyās ud Din ..	799	1397	Blinded and deposed
Shams-ud-Dīn ..	799	1397	Deposed
Firūz	800	1397	Do.
Ahmad	825	1422	
'Alā'ud Dīn II ..	838	1436	
Humayūn	862	1457	
Nizām	865	1461	
Muhammad II ..	867	1463	
Mahmūd	887	1482	Died 24th Zu'l-Hijja, 249 (20th December 1518) when the Dynasty became practically extinct

According to Firishtah



CHAPTER I

Account of the Kings of Kalburgā,² who, according to the most authentic accounts, were eight individuals, the first of whom was 'Alā-ud-Dīn wa ad-Dunyā Abū-l-Mueaffar Sultān Ḥaṣan Shāh al Walī al Bahmanī.

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥaṣan Shāh Gangū,¹ Bahmanī was the first king, who in the Dakḥin, the land of perpetual freshness (may God preserve it so!) raised the standard of Islām, propagated the rights of the true faith, and overthrew infidelity.

Historians have related various accounts of the origin of this king, and to relate them all would cause prolixity, so we pass them by.

According to the statement of the author of the '*Aryūn-ut-Tawārīkh* and other historians of the kings of India, the ancestors of this illustrious sovereign traced their descent from Bahman and Isfadyār, and what is stated on the subject in some books of genealogies which the author of these pages has seen is that Saltān Ḥaṣan was descended from Bahrām Gūr, in the following way:—

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn wa ad-Dunyā Ḥaṣan Bahman Shāh, son of Kaikāūs Muhammad, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥaṣan, son of Baḥtām, son of Simūn, son of Salām, son of Nūh, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣir, son of Maṣūr, son of Nūh, son of Nūh, son of Sīnī, son of Bahrām, son of Shāh rīn, son of Sād, son of Nusīn, son of Diwād, son of Bahrām Gūr. 'But God, the Most High alone knows the truth of matters.' In consequence of his descent the king was known as "Bahman"—Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥaṣan Shāh Bahmanī.

* During the reign of Saltān Muhammad Tughlāk Shāh, who was king of the greater part of India, Ḥaṣan happened to go to the capital, Dillī, and without disclosing to anyone the fact of his illustrious descent from Kayūmār he became enrolled among the servants of Muhammad Tughlāk Shāh.

¹ I am doubtful as to whether the name of this town should be spelt Kalburgā or Kulburgā. Professor Eastwick (*Murray's Handbook of Madras*) adopts the former spelling, and in a *History of the Bijapur Kings*, written in Marāṭhī, I find it spelt sometimes कलबुर्गा and sometimes कुलबुर्गा.

At that time it happened one day that the saint Shekh Nizām-ud Dīn gave a sumptuous entertainment at which Sultān Muḥammad Tughlak Shāh was present. Shortly after the Sultān had left the entertainment Ḥaṣan arrived at the door of the Monastery of His Holiness. The latter by his inward consciousness being aware of this said to his servant — "To-day one king has gone out and another king is at the door: let him come in." The servant went to the door and brought in Ḥaṣan. The Shekh received him with the utmost respect, and announced to him the good news that he was destined to have the sovereignty of one of the districts of India: this he mentioned as a divine revelation.

It is said that on this occasion the Shekh placed a cake of bread (*kura*)² on the tip of his fore-finger and gave it to Ḥaṣan saying —

"This is the canopy of sovereignty which shall be exalted till the extinction of this illustrious dynasty at a long distant date." From this token of good news given by the eminent Shekh, Ḥaṣan was made hopeful, and began to cherish the idea of sovereignty and conquest.

In this year a state of the utmost disorder began to show itself in the dominions of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlak Shāh, and each of the *amirs* in charge of several districts raised rebellions. Sultān 'Alī-ud-Dīn Ḥaṣan Shāh also with a number of brave and select warriors — Afghāns and others — in accordance with the advice of the Shekh, set out for the Dakhn and halted at Daulatābād.

In the midst of these affairs Sultān Muḥammad Tughlak was informed that the *amirān* & *sadaks*,³ who had been appointed to keep in subjection the coast of Gujarāt, had withdrawn from

² By this is meant "*chaupatti*," a word familiar to all who have ever been in India.

³ What the year was is not stated, but it was probably A. H. 746 (A. D. 1345) — vide Hayley, *Gujarāt*, p. 43.

⁴ There is no English equivalent for this expression. According to Sir C. Hayley it is said to be a Moghal technical term for a "captain of a hundred," but in this place it rather designates a class of persons who seem to have appeared in character the "free-lances" of the Middle Ages in Europe. They were leaders of mercenaries and foreigners; at least for the most part some were probably remnants of the "New Mussalmans" or converted Moghal settlers, though some were most certainly Afghan adventurers. Loyalty was highly characteristic of this class, and they have ever been known for violence and rapine. (Hayley, *Gujarāt*, p. 43 n.)

their allegiance and were in a state of rebellion, besides plundering the property of Muslims. Some treasure which had been sent in charge of one of the *amirs* of Gujrat to the seat of government at Lahan and Delhi had been plundered; a great number of those accompanying it were killed, and the whole of their goods looted. The *amirs* of Gujrat, who went to put down this rebellion and disturbance, were routed and most of them killed.

Sultan Tughlak, on hearing the news of this outbreak in Gujrat showed much disquietude and agitation, and he proceeded in person to put down the rebellion.

Kutlagh Khin was governor of Daulatabad and by the justice, bravery and good management of this pure-minded minister the people had hitherto been kept secure and free from disturbance, but before the outbreak of rebellion in Gujrat he had by the Sultan's orders gone to the Tughlak Shahi court, leaving his brother, 'Alam ud Mulk, as vice regent of the district.

While on the way it occurred to Sultan Tughlak Shah that the district of Daulatabad being now free from the personal influence of Kutlagh Khin it was quite possible that the *amirān-i sadah*, having the power to do so, might there also stir up Gujrat and raise a rebellion. To prevent this he sent some of his *amirs* to Daulatabad bearing instructions for the *amirān-i sadah* to join the Sultan's camp. In accordance with this order the *amirs* went to Daulatabad, and the *amirān-i sadah* obeying the order of the Sultan started with the *amirs* for the camp of the Sultan, but on the way, overcome with fear (of the consequences of their past offences), they one night attacked the royal army,⁷ and the troops being taken unawares, most of them were killed and the remainder took to flight, and narrowly escaping with their lives, made their way to the Sultan's camp.

After the rout of the Sultan's army the *amirān-i sadah* returned to Daulatabad, and giving the title of Nāsir ud-Din to Isma'il

⁶ Here begins the India Office MS, with the words

ویرمائی عیبرمودم آملک ارفقعر و ساد امی و مطمئی بودد

⁷ That is the escort taking them to the Sultan's camp.

Mukh¹ Afghān, seated him on the throne, and, according to the custom of kings, sprinkled money over his head. 'Ālam-al-Mulk, through fear of them, had shut himself up in the fort of Dēvīr (Daulatābād), but as he had treated these people in an approved manner they gave him safe conduct and dismissed him.

'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥaṣan Shāh Bahmanī, with a force of his own faithful adherents, was then in Daulatābād; and though outwardly, for prudential reasons, on friendly terms with these people, he was only watching for an opportunity of obtaining power.

In some histories of India it is stated that Sultān Ḥaṣan, before obtaining dominion over the Dakhan, was enrolled among the troops of Sultān Tughlak Shāh, who were employed in the defence of the Dakhan, and when Ismā'il Mukh, who had at first been raised to the throne, was found unfit for it, the whole army united in exalting Sultān Ḥaṣan Shāh to the sovereignty of the Dakhan. But God only knows the truth of matters!

When Sultān Muḥammad Tughlak Shāh arrived in Gajarāt, a number of those who had rebelled prepared to oppose him, of these, some became food for the swords of the Sultān's troops, and others proceeded to Daulatābād and joined themselves to Ismā'il Mukh and his followers.

When Sultān Muḥammad Tughlak, having finished repelling the violence of the *amīrs* of Gajarāt, heard of the rebellion of the *amīrān-sadah* of Daulatābād, he proceeded with his army in that direction. Ismā'il Mukh was ready for him, and formed line of battle in front of the Sultān's army; but the latter being twice again as weak as the followers of Ismā'il Afghān, however much it attacked and retreated gained no lasting advantage over them. At last, however, the army of the Sultān gained the victory, the Daulatābādīs took to flight, and Ismā'il Mukh retired to the

¹ In the India Office MS. this name is always written مکھ (Makh, or Mukh). In the British Museum MS it appears in some places to be مک and in others مکھ. Firishtah writes the name مکھ (Mugh, a Magian), and this is probably the correct spelling. According to Firishtah Ismā'il Khān Afghān was an officer of a thousand horse, whose brother, Malik Mugh, commanded the royal army in the province of Mālwa, and the selection arose principally out of the hope that the Dakhanis would be supported by the new king's relative in Mālwa (Briggs, Vol II pp 257-263).

fortress of Dêvghî. Alî'-nd-Dîn Hasan Shih with his own particular followers proceeded towards Kalburgâ. Sultân Muhammad laid siege to the fortress of Daulatâbad, and sent Malik 'Imâd-ud-Dîn with a select force in pursuit of Sultân Alî'-nd-Dîn.

In the midst of these affairs news again arrived from Gujarât that Malik Tazhî had raised a rebellion there, so the Sultan was compelled to leave some of his nobles and a portion of his force at Daulatâbad while he himself started for Gujarât.

When Alî'-nd-Dîn Hasan became aware that he was being followed by the enemy, he laid in ambush with a portion of his force, and suddenly attacking them killed 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, dispersed his army and pursuing the fugitives turned back towards Daulatâbad.

When the news of death of 'Imâd ul-Mulk, as well as the rout of his force and the approach of 'Alâ'-nd-Dîn Hasan and his followers reached the ears of the *amirs* who were engaged in besieging Ismâ'il Mukh, they wavered, and being powerless to resist they unavoidably raised the siege of the fortress and took to flight. Hasan then entered the city of Daulatâbad in triumph; and Ismâ'il Mukh coming down from the fortress of Devghî voluntarily and gladly resigned the sovereignty in favour of Hasan, and abandoning the title of Sultân Nâsir-nd-Dîn which had previously been given him, called himself Shams-ud-Dîn.

The whole army and the populace having unanimously consented to the sovereignty of 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Hasan, at the ninth hour of Friday the 29th Sha'bân, A. H. 748 (3rd December, A. D. 1347), or — according to one writer — on the 24th Rabi' II. of the year above mentioned (3rd August, A. D. 1347), he attained the object of his desires. At the entreaty of Ismâ'il Mukh and all the *amirs* and the army the ruby coloured royal umbrella was raised over his head, and he was seated on the throne of sovereignty under the title of Sultân 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Hasan Shâh nî Wallî al Bahmanî. The *amirs*, ministers and generals vied with one another in doing him honour and praising him and swearing fealty to him.

* The Sultan now applied himself to the affairs of government and the occupations of his subjects with such ability and attention that the signs of his illustrious actions embellishing the history

of the kings are beyond computation, and the mention of his good qualities adorns the preface of the history of the kings powerful as Heaven. In his day no tyrant hand struck the knocker of disquietude on the door of any subject, nor did the foot of any trader in oppression tread the inner court of the house of anyone with the step of molestation or hindrance.

The Sultân sent some troops in pursuit of the *amîrs* of Muhammad Tughlak who had taken to flight. Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who was leader of the defeated army was killed and the remnant with much difficulty succeeded in saving their lives.

When the Sultân had thus finished repelling his enemies, he turned his attention to those brave *amîrs* who had rendered him good service in the recent war, and conferred on each of them rank and dignity corresponding to his merit.

Of this number, 'Ain-ud-Din, who was one of the *amîrs* of Sultân Muhammad Tughlak, with his son Muhammad entered the service of Ahûl-Muzâfir Sultân 'Alî-ud-Dîn Husân Shih and were honoured by the titles of Khayâh Jahân and Shîr Khân respectively.

Malik Hindû, a Turk received the title of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, and was appointed Sâhib-i 'Arz.*

Husâm-ud-Dîn, Akshî became Nâib Wazîr.

Zhakâjût Sayyid Rasûl-ud-Dîn, who was one of the descendants of the martyr Zaid,¹⁰ received the title of Kutb-ul-Mulk.

Malik Shâdî, who had been Nâib Bîrbak, became Shams-i Rashîk Sâhib-i Khîs.

Husain, who had attacked 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, obtained the title of Garshîsb, and was appointed Kûr Bêg-i Maisarah (Commander of the Left Wing).

Mir Sakû Shams-ud-Dîn was appointed Kûr Bêg-i Maimanah (Commander of the Right Wing).

Shamî Fârî became 'Umdah ul-Mulk and Dabîr (Secretary).

Kîzî Jalîl, who in Awadh (Oude) deserted from the service of Sultân Muhammad after killing one named Mukbil, governor

* Sâhib-i 'Arz means one whose business is to review an army.

¹⁰ Founder of the Zaidî sect

of Awadh, and then entered the service of the Sultân, received the title of Kadai Khân, and his son Muhammad became Azhdar Khân.

Several of the *amîrs* received the titles of "Khân" and "Malik." A few retained their previous titles. Several of the servants of the royal court obtained employment as *duâns*, thus Hussain bin Tûn in became Treasurer, and the son of Mubârak Khân became Superintendent of Elephants (*shahnah : fîl*) and Keeper of the Seals (*daicût dâr*)

Malik Chahjû became Saiyid-ul-Hayyib (Lord Chamberlain).

Kâzi Bahâ ud Din became Hâjib-i Kışabah (Constable of the City)

Daulat Shih became Shahnah-i Birgih, and Shahjib, Sîlir-i Khwân, which in the Dakhani dialect is called "Châshnîgir"¹¹

'Alî Shih became the Sar Pardah-dâr, with a number of others under him

Each of the *amîrs*, *icazîrs* and generals, according to his desert, was promoted to *malûsâ* and *jâgîrs*, obtaining towns and districts on feudal tenure, and kept up a proportionate army and retinue

The Sultân having despatched the *amîrs* to take possession of the country and organise the army, each of them proceeded to his own district. Khwâjab Jahin was sent to Kalburgih, Sikandar Khân to Bidar, Kîr Khân to Kottûr and Saifdar Khân Sust-'Ahd to Sagur, which afterwards became known as Sighar, and Husain Garshasb to Kotligir. Other generals, by the Sultân's orders, proceeded to plunder and devastate the country of the infidels.

'Imîd-ul-Mulk and Mubârak Khân, by the Sultân's orders, went on a marauding expedition as far as the river Tâvî [Taptî], devastating the country of the Hindus, and beheaded any idol-worshippers they found. Among other districts they plundered that of دنگیر (Dangri) and beheaded the cursed Ramnât. From that place they went to Janjîl (?), plundered the fort, and cutting off the head of [?] threw his body on the ground.

¹¹ A taster, a servant whose duty it is to watch over the kitchen of princes, and to taste every dish brought to table as a security against poison

Of the other *amirs*, who, by the Sultan's orders, had hastened off to take possession of their respective districts, Garshâsp, who had been sent to Kotâgîr on the way received intelligence from Khandâr of the Dakhan, now known as Kandhâr, that a number of Turks of the army of Muḥammad Tughlaḥ, who were in Kandhâr when they saw that 'Alâ ud Dîn had been confirmed in the sovereignty of the Dakhan, one night with a loud cry took possession of the fort of Kandhar and submitted themselves to the Sultan, and Ikraḥ being put to flight, went towards Bodan, and his people and family were made prisoners by the Turks. The latter wrote a letter to this effect to Garshâsp, and informed him of their submission to his authority.

Garshâsp was much pleased¹² at hearing this news, and wrote them a letter, praising them for what they had done, and held out to them hopes of the king's favour. He himself also hastened to Kandhar and the Turks went out to give him a ceremonious reception, and proffered their services.

From that place Garshâsp went to Kotâgîr and laid siege to the fort¹³. After some time the garrison called for a truce, and obtained quarter. They delivered over the fortress, and of their own accord agreed to pay tribute. When messengers brought this news to the Sultan he was much gratified; and by his orders the drums of rejoicing were beaten in the city, and all the people were glad.

Sayid Raḥîm-Dîn Kutb ul Molk, who had gone towards Mundargi, proceeded by way of Bhûm and took possession of it. After that he turned towards Akalkot which he also succeeded in taking, and then returning to Mundargi gave it the name of Saiyidabâd. Each of the *samindars* of that district who submitted to his rule he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands, and restrained his troops from plundering his property, but any who disputed his authority, their country and goods were plundered, and they and those under them put to death. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force he succeeded in gaining possession of three or four celebrated fortresses.

¹² The word in the text is کر (*kar*, or *gar*) it is probably meant for the Hindî word गर (*garh*), a hill fort.

Kambar Khān,¹³ who had obtained the Kotū jūgīr, proceeded in that direction, but on the way turned aside to the fort of Kalyān, and for nearly fifty days laid siege to it, after which it capitulated, and the inhabitants on giving security for good behaviour were included among the subjects of the Sultān. After taking Kalyān he wrote to the Sultān giving him the welcome intelligence of his victory. The Sultān was much pleased, and ordering the drums of rejoicing to be beaten in the city of Daulatabād, called it Fathābād. The rejoicings were continued for a week.

Sikandar Khān, who by the Sultān's orders had started with an army in the direction of Bidar, turned from there towards Malkaid,¹⁴ and the Hindūs of that place having heard of and seen the recent success of the Turks, deemed it advisable to refrain from offering resistance, they therefore tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute, and so obtained immunity from molestation by Sikandar Khān's troops.

Sikandar Khān after his return sent a letter to Kanabiyand¹⁵ who was wāli of Telingāna asking him to send a present of some elephants for the use of his army.¹⁶ When Sikandar Khān's letter reached Kanabiyand and he understood its contents, he wrote a reply, tendering his submission, and sending a written treaty to that effect. He also expressed a great wish to meet him. Accordingly Sikandar Khān with a large force proceeded towards Telingāna, and a meeting between the two took place. Kanabiyand¹⁷ presented many valuable offerings, and was made hopeful of much favour from the King. He sent two elephants and other suitable presents to the King through Sikandar Khān. The latter on arrival

¹³ This name is here written قنر حان (Kabar Khān) in the text, but it is evidently a mistake of the copyist, for further on when he rebels against the Sultān and is made prisoner by Sikandar Khān his name is written كير حان (Kir Khān). The latter is also the spelling in the Br. Mu. MS.

¹⁴ Written لمیکهر (Lamīkher) in the Br. Mu. MS.

¹⁵ In the Br. Mu. MS. this name is written in one place کاباند (Kabāband), and in another place کاناند (Kānāndah).

¹⁶ The letter is given in full in the text, but there is nothing of importance in it.

¹⁷ Here the name is written کاناباند, and there being no dot to the second letter it may be read either Kanabiyand or Kababiyand.

at [?] sent the elephants to the Sultân and informed him of the good will of Kanbâyand. The Sultân wrote a commendatory letter to Sikandar Khim and exalted him to the umbrella ¹³ he also conferred royal favours on Kanbâyand.

Ismâ'il Mukh, who had resigned the sovereignty, had been granted as an *in'am* Thirah Alar (?), which is near Terdil and Jamkhandi, but after spending some time pleasantly in that country the demon of desire led him astray. The explanation of this is that the cursed infidel Nârâyana had deceived him by promises of assistance to regain the sovereignty and he, duped by these promises and vows, had raised the standard of rebellion. The end of it was that the perfidious Nârâyana broke faith with him, and imprisoned the foolish Afghân, and after some time poisoned him.

Since the cursed Nârâyana used to show himself submissive to Sultân Muhammad Tughlak, Khwâjah Jahân, by the Sultân's orders, started from Mubarakabad Miraj on a punitive expedition against that man of unworthy actions, and Kutb ul Mulk also from Mundargi, going to the assistance of Khwâjah Jahân these two prudent ministers joining their forces proceeded to Kalbargâ, surrounded that fortress and with guns¹⁴ and ballistas (*manyani*) reduced the garrison to extremities, and destroyed a portion of the tower and wall of the fortress. Puchâpari (*), who was governor of the fortress, falsely gave out that they were in a state of starvation, thinking that this would be the cause of separation and despondency among the royal troops. The result, however, was contrary to his wishes. At last the besieged being reduced to great straits owing to scarcity of water, some of them calling for quarter descended from the fort by tying nooses on ropes. The victorious army then from all sides of the tower and rampart entered the fortress and proceeded to pillage and plunder, and killed a great number of the people. They made Puchâpari prisoner, and sent him together with a despatch announcing victory to the seat of government.

Khwâjah Jahân then assumed the governorship of Kâlbargâ, and acted with such justice and kindness towards the inhabitants of the city and surrounding neighbourhood that he rejoiced their hearts. But after some time he received intelligence that a mutiny

اورا پچتر سرا فرار فرمود

¹⁴ Here is the first mention of fire-arms.

had taken place in the army at Sagar. Safdar Khan had laid siege to the fort of Kanba¹ or Kanburi (?) and a countless number of people in that fortress had died from famine and pestilence. By the exertions of Kampras Muhammad bin Alam Nathu 'Almbak and other rascals who excited them, the mutineers after killing Safdar Khan went to Sagar, and taking possession of the fortress proceeded to strengthen it. 'Ali Lujin and Fakhr ud Din Muhrdar (keeper of the seals) by an artifice fled and escaped from the mutineers.

Since Khwajah Jahan did not think it advisable without orders from the Sultan to lead a force against the mutineers to quell this disturbance, he wrote a letter to their leaders, saying — Killing a bad man was a very good deed but now it is necessary that you should without delay come in this direction, and bring with you whatever you may have in the way of goods elephants, etc., that they may be sent to the foot of the royal throne and that you may receive due reward from the king otherwise you will be deprived of the goods and the fortress and perhaps of your lives as well.

Muhammad bin 'Alam sent Nathu 'Almbak to Khwajah Jahan with a message, saying — The story of the goods and riches attributed to us is utterly impossible

* * * * *

When Nathu brought this message Khwajah Jahan imprisoned him and sent an account of the circumstances to the Sultan who ordered Khwajah Jahan immediately on receipt of the *farman* to cross the river Jahnur [Bhumi] and encamp on the further side and not to move from there till the Sultan should himself arrive in those parts. In accordance with these orders Khwajah Jahan encamped on the other side of the river, and every day used to send his troops to plunder and devastate the country of the mutineers and used to put terror into their hearts. The Sultan on account of Muhammad Tughlak did not think it advisable to leave Daulat bad and move to any other part of his dominions.

* When the army of Khwajah Jahan by the Sultan's orders had been encamped for two months on the bank of the river Bhumi one night by decree of the Divine Creator an old man of luminous aspect whose countenance shone with divine knowledge appeared to the

¹ Name uncertain Spelt *كان* in the text.

Sultan in a dream and informed him of the extinction of the empire of Muhammad Tughlak Shah, and announced the establishment of sovereignty in the Sultan's illustrious family. Even in the midst of his dream the Sultan determined in his own mind that that old man was Ulwais Karani. It has been already mentioned that the Sultan was a disciple of the saint Sheikh Nizam ud Din Auliya who had promised him the throne and whenever the Sultan was in any difficulty the saint used to reveal to him in a dream the means of getting out of it. When the Sultan awoke he related the dream to his assembled troops.

On an auspicious day he moved from the capital Daulatabad towards Kalbarga leaving Kadr Khan, Garshasb, Imad ul Mulk, 'Azd ul Mulk and other nobles in Daulatabad. In due time he pitched his camp in sight of Kalburga, and the inhabitants of that place hastened out to offer presents and do homage to him, and they prayed for the eternity of his reign. The Sultan conferred special favours on the principal inhabitants of Kalburga, and gave to each, according to his rank, presents and robes of honour.

When the news of the Sultan's arrival reached Khwajah Jahân, leaving the leaders of his army in the camp he himself hastened to pay his respects to the Sultan, who distinguished him by royal caresses and seated him on a golden chair.

In the midst of these affairs the king was informed that the Sultan of Hindustan, Muhammad Tughlak Shah, while on his way from Gujarat to Tathah had fallen ill and died near the Indus.¹

The mind of Sultan Ala ud Din Hasan Shah being thus set at rest from the annoyance of his enemies he turned his attention to the conquest of the various districts of the Dakhan. In three days' time the royal army set out, and crossing the river marched stage by stage without halting to rest anywhere. When Muhammad bin 'Alam heard of his approach seized with panic, he threw himself on the mercy of the Sultan. The latter spared his life, but ordered him to be imprisoned, and whatever money and goods he possessed to be confiscated, in order to prevent his offering further opposition.

After that the Sultan marched towards Sagar and pitched his camp on the bank of the Sagar tank and reducing the district to

¹ He died near Tathah on the 21st Muharram, A. H. 752 (20th March A. D. 1351) — vide Bayley & G. J. p. 57.

a state of subjection, tranquillized the inhabitants and ordered compensation to be given for any oppression practised on them by the tyrants. The learned men and *shekhs* of that part, such as Shekh 'Ain ud Din Bijpûrî,²² 'Alî ud Din Janpûrî and Maulana Mu'ayyan-ud Din Harûî—tutor of Sultân Muhammad Shah—paid their respects to the Sultân, and he distinguished them by *âms* and pensions, each according to his merit.

He then despatched a force under the leadership of Mulîrak Khan and Katb-ul Mulk to make a predatory incursion into the district of Harîb.²³ When these *amirs* with a large force reached the fortress of Karabjur²⁴ they laid siege to it and reduced the garrison to extremities. The governor of the fortress, who was one of the great men of the infidels, seeing the fury of the assault of the Muhammadan army, fear and terror shook the foundation of his strength and on the following day he sued for quarter, and waiting on the leaders of the army delivered over to them much goods and countless wealth as a peace offering. After that victory the *amirs* sent some of the associates of the governor of Karabjur () to the Sultân. The latter looked with much favour on the leaders of the army, and rewarded each of them according to his rank.

At that time the royal army being ordered to march from Sagar moved towards Kanbarî and Mudhol, and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kanbul, Knpras, the chief of that district, hearing of the arrival of the Sultân, and dreading attack by his army, sent smooth tongued messengers with presents of horses, elephants and various goods to the Sultân. Through the interest of the courtiers they obtained an audience and presented a petition to the following effect—

I am the slave of slaves at the threshold of the royal throne, and I know the power of the conquering army, but from excess of baseness and sins I am debarred from the happiness of making my obeisance. If the royal mercy will wash away the dust of meanness of this slave in the limpid water of pardon, and draw the pen of forgiveness through the registers of crimes of this penitent one,

²² Author of the *Mî'âkât* and *Kalab ul-Akbar*, containing a history of all the Muhammadan saints of India.

²³ Not identical. The word is written 'Harîb' in the Be. Mu. MS.

²⁴ Spelt *کرہجور* in the text. Probably Kalabgûr is meant between Golkondâ and Bidar.

he will assuredly pay two years revenue into the royal treasury, and after that, obtaining hopefulness of royal favours, he will put away fear from his heart, and hasten, with the step of service to the royal threshold'

The Sultan having compassion on the weakness and disappointment of Kapras ordered that his offer of tribute should be accepted and that no further injury should be done to his fortress or country

The army then set off on the march for the country of the accursed Narayana, and when they reached Talguya (?), Danyâ puk (?) begged for pardon, and he as well as his wife, sons and other relatives came out of the fort and threw themselves at the feet of the Sultan who received them kindly, and confirmed them in possession of the fort and district

The Sultan then continued his march against the traitor Narayana. On arriving within one stage of the place of that ignoble one a petition reached the Sultan from Sin ud Din²⁵ Maltâ, who in conjunction with Narayana used constantly to assist Sultan Muhammad Tughlak Shah. The letter contained assurances of his submission and loyalty, and said that he would shortly pay his respects to the Sultan. The latter was much pleased to hear this and honoured Sin ud-Din by sending to inform him of his benevolent inclinations, and wrote him a *farmân* containing many assurances of favour and affection. Ma in ud Din had seen Narayana as well as the result of the fraudulent conduct of Ism'îl Mulkh so he hastened to wait on the Sultan and had the honour of making his obeisance to him. The Sultan in the plenitude of his favour and kindness embraced him and said —

'It is the usage of people of sincerity and piety to exert themselves in the business of their lords, and when they obtain knowledge of justice and injustice leave the service of the tyrant and incline towards that of the just man.' Mu in ud Din was then distinguished by a special robe of honour

Next day the Sultan marched towards Mudhol, hunting and shooting on the way, and in terror of the troops the country was cleared of lions, tigers and panthers

²⁵ In the I O MS this name is distinctly written *سین الدین* (Sin ud Din) wherever it occurs but in the Br Mu MS it is in each place distinctly written *معین الدین* (Mu in ud Din). The latter is most probably correct

When the royal army passed the river Kisinâ the country of the base infidels became turned topsy turvy, and the cultivated lands changed into desolation all the inhabitants took refuge in the four strongest fortresses in that part of the country

The rebel Nârâyana seeing that it was useless for him to use his claws against a furious lion, being himself a fox, he wished by fox play to avoid contending with lions, so he sent an eloquent man to the Sultân with the following memorial —

"I am a slave of the ancient servants of the royal threshold, but owing to my many crimes and the awfulness of the wrath of the Sultân of the World I cannot have the presumption to kiss the ground before him. If the King of the World would order one of the slaves of the court to come over in this direction in order that this slave may explain his circumstances to him, and if he will briefly bring them to the notice of your Majesty, it will not be far from the perfection of kindness to servants and the application of a remedy."

The Sultân, agreeing to the proposal of that accursed, vile one, sent Kazi Baha i-Hâph to say to him — "Your crimes are notorious, and on account of them you are deserving of exemplary punishment, but if you repent and obey the laws of government in future, your former faults will be overlooked, and your life and the lives of your sons and family—several thousand persons—may be spared, otherwise your fortress will be razed to the ground, your dwelling places will be sacked, and your irreligious body with all your followers will become as a fable"

When the infidel Nârâyana heard these awful words the fear which had settled in his heart was increased, but fortune having turned against him and plunged him in misery he could not agree to serve the Sultân, but set his heart on opposing him, and took refuge in the fort of Jamkhandi, which was considered one of the greatest of his forts. He sent three of his chief nobles to hold abreë other forts, and of these men he sent one vile one named Gopâl to hold the fort of Mudhâl, and two other infidels to Terdal and Bigalkot.

When the Sultân knew that the impure and fearless Nârâyana had no desire to yield submission, he determined first of all to take the fort of Mudhâl, which was the strongest of the forts of

that contemptible one, who owing to the strength of that place was beyond the reach of everyone. This fort he determined to take, in order that fear being established in the hearts of the accursed people of that district they would no longer desire to offer any opposition nor engage in war with the Muhammadan army.

When the Sultân, with the intention of attacking the fort of Mudhol, crossed the river and turned in that direction, the traitor Nariyana deemed it advisable to send a number of his troops to make a night attack on the royal camp hoping by this manoeuvre to avert the fate which threatened them. But destiny was against them. The cursed Nariyana sent nearly two hundred horse and a thousand infantry on a dark night to attack the royal army, but he was not aware that he who throws a stone at the sky inevitably wounds his own head. This doomed band of infidels reached the corner of the Sultân's camp, but only to shut the door of safety in the face of their own fortune. The vile infidels in the fort of Mudhol also, when they heard the tumult of that powerless handful, a number of them rashly came out of the fort and joined that rabble. But since the royal troops, like their own fortune, were awake and on the alert, they suddenly intercepted those worthless infidels and almost annihilated them. Most of them were killed, but some escaped. A few crept like mice into the holes of the fortress, and about twenty of them fled towards Jamkhândi, and with a thousand troubles and perplexities reached that place.

Next morning the Sultan sat on his throne and held a public audience, and the nobles and leaders of the army brought before him the prisoners and booty which they had acquired. Some of the prisoners were put to death, and the brave men who on that dark night had shown special bravery were distinguished by royal favours, and the booty which had been gained was given to them. This signal victory had the effect of greatly weakening the power of Nariyana and dispiriting his army.

Simultaneously with this affair the Shâhzâdah joined the camp of the Sultân, and a number of the nobles and ministers were sent out to meet him. When the Shâhzâdah saw the Sultân he hastened to salute him. The Sultan called him to him, caught him to his breast, kissed him on the face, and asked him about his journey and the affairs of his army. The Shâhzâdah gave him clear

answers, and the Sultān was astonished at his shrewdness and sagacity, and presented him with a special robe of honour and many other royal distinctions

On the following day the Sultān ordered an assault on the fortress, but afterwards perceiving that this would entail the loss of many brave men at the hands of the infidels which was contrary to the laws of religion and manliness he countermanded the assault and formed a cordon round the fortress and dug a trench completely round it, so that it might more easily be taken

For four months they were engaged in the siege of Mudhol at last the infidels being reduced to extremities paid two years revenue into the royal treasury besides promising to pay the future revenue, and agreed that after the return of the royal army they would be submissive to the court, and endeavour by every means in their power to atone for their past offences

The army then encamped within sight of the fortress of Miraj The Sultān spent two months in pleasure and recreation in that open country, the troops also passed their time in ease and leisure

After that the Sultān determined to conquer the country of the Konkan, and started with his army for that district, marching by stages, and hunting and shooting on the way The soldiers hunted the tiger, and they emptied the face of the country as well as the air of wild beasts pelicans and cranes

When the Sultān — the cream of the race of Bahman — passed Khārepātān, the people of that district on becoming aware of his approach, left their dwellings, and from terror of the army fled to the mountain tops and hills and interior parts and valleys The troops plundered all the cattle and pastures of the Hindus The camp remained in that place nearly two months, the army resting from the fatigue of the march

They then moved towards Sagar and when they encamped in its neighbourhood, all the feudal lands belonging to those forts and districts having been annexed to the Sultān's dominions, were assigned to the agents of the court, each of whom, according to his worth and rank was distinguished by royal favours

After that the Sultān crossed the river Blumā and taking tribute from Sādū and Mulkād he advanced towards Kalburgā

Kir Khân, who in tyranny and injustice exceeded Namrûd and Shidid, hastened to wait on the Sultan and was distinguished by a robe of honour and other dignities, but after three days, by the seduction of the black faced Kâlah Muhammad, he fled from the royal army, and the Sultan himself went in pursuit of that impure, base one. The army and baggage of Kir Khân being captured, suddenly a great flood came on the road and drowned most of his followers, but he himself being apart from them at the time, escaped, and with much difficulty reached Kittûr.

The Sultan having returned from the pursuit of Kir Khân marched towards the fort of Kallîana which was then occupied by Kâlah Muhammad, who from his innumerable crimes was nicknamed the 'black faced'. The Sultan being determined to take the place divided the different sides of the fortress among his troops, who formed a cordon round it, and the besieged were reduced to helplessness.

Sikandar Khân, whom on account of his valuable services and sincerity the Sultan had entitled "Farzand" (son), arrived in camp with a large force, and had the honour of making his obeisance. The Sultan treated Sikandar Khân with much courtesy, and further exalted him by the dignity of the Ruby Umbrella, and raised him in rank above all the other *amîrs* and *khâns*. The Sultan ordered him to proceed to Kittûr and lay waste the country of Kir Khân, also to make him prisoner and bring him before the throne. Sikandar Khân swore by the dust of the Sultan's footstep that he would not return till he brought that promise-breaking old man bound as a malefactor before the foot of the throne.

Sikandar Khân then marched from the Sultan's camp with a large force, and proceeded towards Kittûr. News of his approach reached Kir Khân, and when the army arrived within a *farsang* of Kittûr, Sikandar Khân was informed that Kir Khân watching his opportunity had sallied out from the fort with a force of brave men skilled in fight, made his way to the army of Sikandar Khân and in one attack, undid the knot of agglomeration of those wild, Plemades like, were drawn up in a compact formation, causing them to become dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, and pursued them as they fled, but suddenly Sikandar Khân rushed out from a place of ambush and attacked Kir Khân's force. In the midst of this battle Rakhî Sha'hîn with some cavalry attacked Kir Khân,

and the latter turned to repulse him. Fakhr Sha'bān, in order to draw him on pretended to run away, and Kīr Khān boldly hurried in pursuit, but in the meantime another party of Fakhr Sha'bān's friends having joined him they turned on their pursuers, and Kīr Khān being unable to cope with them wished to pluck his foot from the net of misfortune and the grasp of fate by taking to flight, but Fakhr Sha'bān caught him, and grasping him by the hair dragged him along the ground. The troops of Kīr Khān endeavoured to release him, but failed, and at last they took to flight, leaving their leader in the net of misfortune. Fakhr Sha'bān then bound Kīr Khān and took him to Sikandar Khān. The latter was much pleased, and having written a report of the victory sent it by Fakhr Sha'bān to the court of the Sultan. Fakhr, in despatch outstripping lightning and the wind, reached the camp of the Sultan on the second day, and informed him of the victory and the capture of Kīr Khān. The Sultan was delighted to hear this good news and Fakhr obtained many marks of royal favour, and the drum of rejoicing was beaten in the camp.

A week afterwards the Sultan marched with his army towards Kittūr and when he arrived on that frontier, Sikandar Khān heard of his approach, and in accordance with his oath, he dragged Kīr Khān in chains to the foot of the royal throne. The Sultan loaded Sikandar Khān with distinctions, and ordered Kīr Khān to be denuded of the dress of life (put to death), but Sikandar Khān represented, saying — "Since this old sinner is given to me, and your Majesty's camp is pitched at the foot of the fortress of Kittūr, if the people of this vile one repent and yield obedience show regret for their tyranny and injustice, pay the past revenue and agree to pay the future revenue, well and good, but if not it will be perfectly easy to put him to a shameful death." According to the petition of Sikandar Khān the Sultan refrained from putting Kīr Khān to death, and the camp was pitched in sight of the fort of Kittūr.

In the midst of these affairs Kalah Muhammad leaving Kalharā went to the fort of Kittūr and fortified himself there. Several times he boldly sallied from this fort and attacked the Sultan's army, throwing them into confusion, and when the royal troops tried to intercept them, they, like foxes in fear of the attack of

hons, took refuge in a hole in the fortress. But one day Kālāh Muhammad his fortune having turned against him, according to his past custom, came out of the fort with some of his troops and attacked the Sultān's army, but the latter intercepted them, and in one attack the sedition of that unfortunate, insignificant one was suppressed, his followers dispersed, and he himself made prisoner. According to a certain historian his figure was also relieved from the load of his head.

In this campaign the Sultān obtained two celebrated fortresses which reared their heads as high as heaven namely, the forts of Kallhānī and Kattur in whatever direction he went he used to return victorious.

After these victories the Sultān set out on the march for Kalburgā, the seat of government, and in that excellent city erected lofty buildings and giving it the name of Ahsanābād selected it as the permanent dwelling place of the throne. In some histories it is related that Sultān 'Alā ud Dīn Hasan Shāh took the city of Kalburgā first of all, and afterwards proceeded to take Daulatābād and all the other towns. In any case, when Kalburgā, Bidar and Daulatābād with all their dependencies came into his possession, he was anxious to take all the other towns of the Dākhān. According to tradition the first victory which he gained was at Bhokardhan, as soon as he arrived there the Rāys of that place presented him with three *laks* of rupees and agreed to pay the revenue into the royal treasury. From that place the Sultān marched towards Māhūr, the Rājā of which place also sent countless wealth to the victorious army, and so obtained immunity from assault. The army then moved towards the celebrated Māndā, and the people of that country also agreed to pay tribute and contribution, and were exempted from molestation.

Then the Sultān set out for his capital, Ahsanābād, where he spent some time in pleasure and amusement, and the troops rested from the fatigue of the march.

26 [After that, the Sultān having conceived the idea of conquering the island of Gon as well as Dāhhol and all the sea-coast and ports, determined to proceed in that direction. After accom-

26 This passage enclosed in brackets is entirely omitted in the Br. Mu. MS., probably by mistake on the part of the copyist.

plishing the journey the royal camp arrived in the neighbourhood of Goa, and they laid siege to the town, which after five or six months they succeeded in taking, and were gladdened by countless booty

After taking Goa the Sultân moved towards Dîbbol, and obtained possession of that district also. Thence he crossed over towards Kalhar²⁷ and Kolhâpûr, where they also raised on high the banners of Islam and overturned those of infidelity and error. Then the Sultân returned to his capital Ahsanâbâd, and took his ease in the permanent dwelling-place of the royal throne.]

After spending some time in pleasure in his capital, he was again desirous of conquering the country of Telang (Telîngânâ) and acquiring a name and reputation. ²⁸So orders were issued to the army to move in that direction. According to orders the army assembled and marched towards Telîngânâ. The Sultân sent on in advance a number of his officers with scouts to devastate the country of the infidels whilst he followed in rear of them.] For nearly a year he travelled through the country of Telîngânâ, and having taken possession of the district of Bhonâgir he overthrew the idol temples, and instead of them built mosques and public schools. When he had completed the conquest of Telîngânâ he returned to his capital, and opening the doors of justice and kindness in the face of his subjects and soldiers acted generously towards all the inhabitants of the Dakhan.

At this period the Sultân had obtained possession of most of the cities and forts of the Dakhan, so that his dominions extended from the east side of Daulatâbâd to Bhonâgir and the river Godavari—both north and south sides—to the river Gag [Wun Ganga²⁹] and the west side of Kalburga to the river Kistna, and Canhar (²) and Dîbbol and G. And the *rayas* on the further side of the Kistna becoming government landholders, agreed to pay tribute and the Sultân assigned on feudal tenure to his ministers and nobles—to each according to his rank—the various districts and towns of Hindustân which he had conquered. His own old district, which was

²⁷ Kalhar (sic) is frequently mentioned and always in conjunction with Kolhâpûr. I am inclined to think that Kalî is meant.

²⁸ This passage enclosed in brackets is omitted in the I O MS, evidently by mistake on the part of the copyist. It is to be found in the Br Mu MS, fol 24b.

Hukeri, Belgium and Murj, he entrusted to his eldest son Zafar Khān, whom he made his heir-apparent, and gave him the name of Sultan Muhammad Shāh. Daulatābid he assigned to his sister's son, Bahrām Khān (Mazandarānī), but when Bahrām Khān became established in Daulatābid, a vicious disposition and evil imagination became embedded in his vitals (and he said to himself) — "Since Daulatābid was the coronation place of the Sultan, and has been assigned to me during his lifetime, it is evidently his intention to give me his place." With this idea in his head Bahrām Khān became antagonistic and hypocritical.

At this time the Sultan had been ill for nearly three or four months, but Bahrām Khān did not go to visit him lest the Sultan should obtain an inkling of his intentions and by issuing orders counter to his designs, render their accomplishment impossible. Such are briefly the particulars of this matter, which (please God!) will be mentioned hereafter in writing the history of Muhammad Shāh.

After a reign of eleven years, two months and seven days the Sultan died

* * * * *

Shortly before his death the Sultan summoned his sons to his presence, and four princes like four strong pillars of the state, weeping tears of blood, presented themselves before their illustrious father, who embraced them, and as he looked at them wept bitterly at the thought of leaving them.

The Sultan in his will made Sultan Muhammad Shāh (who surpassed all the other sons in understanding and intelligence) his heir, and exhorted all his sons, near relations and army and subjects to obey him.

²³[The prince and all the nobles and generals put on clothes of blue and black as a sign of mourning. The lamentation, and cries reached the heavens, and the ceremonies of mourning were duly carried out.]

Sultan 'Ala-ud Dīn Hasan Shāh was a just king and the cherisher of his people and pious. During his reign his subjects

²³ This passage enclosed in brackets is omitted in the I O MS probably by mistake on the part of the copyist but is given in the Br Mu MS, fol 20 b, last line *et seq*.

and army used to pass their time in perfect ease and content, and he did much towards propagating the true faith. He had four sons, the eldest of whom, Muhammad Shâh, became his father's heir, and was entitled Zafar Khân, which was the title of the Sultan himself.

[The following interesting account of the origin of the Bahmani Dynasty and the reign of 'Ala-ud-Din Hasan Shâh Bahmanî is taken from the Tazkarat-ul Mulûk. It differs considerably from all the other accounts, and is, perhaps, not of much historical value, still I think it would be a pity to omit it.]

Let it not be concealed from the acute that concerning the origin of the Bahmanî kings I have seen many relations, some of which say that they derive their origin from Bahman, son of Isfandîr, son of Gushtasb, one of the magnificent kings of Persia.

Another report is that the sovereignty of the Bahmanî kings dates from the time of Hasan Gangû. Now this Hasan Gangû was a youth of high descent, who by reverses of fortune was in very reduced circumstances.

I may obtain some post of honour, and I humbly petition that you will combine my name with your own, and that you and all your descendants will always sign your *farmans* with the word 'Bahmani' Hasan agreed to this proposal, and used to write himself "Bahmani, and eighteen of his successors who sat on the throne assumed the same surname

Hasan Gangû held some situation in the service of the *shelî* entitled Shekh Muhammad Sirâj Junaidi (May the blessing of God be on him'), and passed most of his time in his cell. One day the *shelî* was in the act of performing his ablutions in the village of Gangû, a suburb of Mirâj which is now known by the name of Murtazâbad. The *shelî* having taken off the turban to wipe his head Hasan Gangû took it up and placed it on his own head, upon which the *shelî* remarked — "Hasan demands from me the crown of royalty"

When some time had passed in this way, Hasan one day complained of being in great want. The *shelî* said — "All things are bound to happen in their own time"

Since that country was the abode of infidels there was no *mausul* there, so the *shelî* founded one, and the Musalmâns with one accord gave the building to him.

By chance Hasan one day filled a large vessel with earth, and lifted it up the *shelî* said — "Hasan desires to lift the weight of the world."

One day the *shelî* was asleep and as the sun was shining on him, Hasan sheltered him with his mantle. When the *shelî* awoke and perceived this he remarked — "Hasan solicits from me the royal canopy."

Once when Hasan's mother went to the *shelî* and represented to him some of the distress of their circumstances, the *shelî* told them to begin tilling the ground in a certain place, and their wishes would be fulfilled. According to the *shelî*'s instructions they employed themselves in tilling the ground, and happening to find in it some indications and vestiges of mortar and stone, they gave information of this to the *shelî*. He replied — "Give thanks to God Most High (glorified be his name!) that our desire is accomplished. "If you give thanks, I will increase you."

One night when Hasan was in his master's presence the *shekh* said — "O king, collect an army and wage a religious war (*jihād*) till you bring the country of the unbelievers into the pale of Islām." Hasan replied — "To wage war preparations are necessary, and at present I am poverty-stricken." The *shekh* said — "God the Most Holy and Most High has bestowed on you a treasure." Then the *shekh*, taking Hasan with him, went to the piece of ground which he had told him to cultivate, and there disclosed the treasure. Hasan, by order of the *shekh*, took away as much as he required, expended it in raising an army, and then informed the *shekh* of what he had done. Gangū Pandit exerted himself very much in carrying out these services. Then the *shekh* said to Hasan. — "Be present on Friday, for it is the predestined day."

As soon as it was night Hasan presented himself, and having recited the *Fātiḥah* with the army of the *shekh*, the latter tied a girdle round Hasan's waist, and directed him to proceed towards Miraj.

When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Miraj the governor of the fort was an infidel woman named Rānī Darkāvati. Unconscious of their approach she had gone out on a journey, and when they met an engagement ensued.

In this battle the Musalmāns being completely victorious Rānī Darkāvati was made prisoner, and the brave army of Islām entered the fort of Miraj. A letter announcing the victory was sent to the *shekh*, who was much pleased at the news, and in reply desired them to call the fort Mubārakābād, as it was auspicious to them and the people of Islām. This victory took place A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347). The *shekh* then said to them — "Go on, for victory is on your side."

Having gained possession of Mubārakahād and the neighbouring districts round it the power and glory of the Musalmāns increased day by day. They quelled all disturbances in that part of the country, and having tranquillized their opponents, by the advice of the *shekh* they proceeded towards Kalburgū.

When they arrived in that neighbourhood they observed the actions and motions of the garrison of the fort and its governor, and having ascertained the numerical strength of his army and the nature of his warlike preparations, they thought to themselves

that their small force was unequal to the task of taking the fort, and informed the *shelḥ* accordingly. He replied:—"On the night of Wednesday Parvan Rā'o will be going on a pilgrimage to his own idol-temple, which is situate at a distance of three *farsakhs* ³⁰ at that very time you should proceed to the fort, for the victory has already been given to you."

Hasan was delighted and kissed the feet of the *shelḥ*, and on the appointed night he went to the fort. The garrison, thinking it was Parvan Rā'o returning, opened the gate of the fort, and Hasan Gangū boldly entered and turned out the people of the fort. When this news reached Parvan Rā'o he was confounded; and returning from the temple engaged the army of Islām. A fierce battle ensued, and the Muhammadan troops poured a rain of arrows on the enemy, in the midst of which Parvan Rā'o was slain and the remnant of his army dispersed. They buried Parvan Rā'o's head near the gate of the fort, and the mark of the place still exists.

They named Kalburgā "Ahsanābād," and Hasan Gangū without further dispute being established on the throne of sovereignty in the city of Ahsanābād, assumed the title of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Bahman Shāh. He made Gangū Pandit pre-eminent, and it was agreed between them that Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn and all his descendants should adopt the surname of "Bahman Shāh." This victory took place in A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347).

He reigned with wisdom and firmness for a period of thirteen years, ten months and twenty-seven days. He died in the year 761 (A. D. 1359) ³¹ He was constant in his discipleship to the *shelḥ*, and his example in this respect was followed by his successors.

His eldest son, Sultān Muhammad, was appointed his successor.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh,

son of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh Bahmanī.

AFTER the death of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh and the completion of the mourning ceremonies, the royal crown was placed on the head of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh in accordance

³⁰ About 10½ miles

³¹ According to all the other accounts he reigned eleven years, two months and seven days, and died in A. H. 752.

with his father's will; and the nobles and grandees presented their congratulations and good wishes.

As soon as he was established on the throne, Sultân Muhammad Shâh turned his attention to the interior economy of his army and his subjects in general, and distributed valuable presents.

When he had finished inquiring diligently into the affairs of his soldiers and subjects, being desirous of conquering countries and cities, he conceived the idea of conquering the country of Vijayanagar, and accordingly marched towards that place with a large and well-equipped force.

The Râya of Vijayanagar, hearing of his approach, and being determined to oppose him assembled a numerous army and went out to meet the Sultân's force. When the two forces encountered one another the troops on both sides fought bravely, and a battle took place such that the eye of Heaven was bewildered and became clouded, and the face of the sun was obscured by the dust of battle. After much fighting the breeze of victory at last blew on the arms of the royal army, and the other side took to flight; but being pursued a great number of them were sent to hell. The Sultân plundered most of the country of the infidels, levelling their idol-temples with the ground, and much booty in rice, jewels, Arab horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Muhammadan force.

After this victory the Sultân proceeded towards Filampatan (P), and by the aid of God having conquered that country also, he set out on the march to his capital with immense booty. On arriving there he was informed that Bahrâm Khân, governor of Devagîr (Daulatabad), was in a state of rebellion, and as soon as he heard this the Sultân proceeded to oppose him. When the Sultân arrived near Devagîr Bahrâm Khân, being afraid to meet his attack, repented of his actions. At the intercession of Shekh Zain-ud-Dîn (hallowed be his grave!) the Sultân spared the life of Bahrâm Khân, but ordered him to be banished from the kingdom: this was done, and he afterwards, with a hundred griefs and disappointments, perished in the desert of desperation and regret.

In the *'Ayân-ut-Tawârikh* it is stated that Sultân Muhammad during his reign did not leave a single place in the Dakhan in possession of the infidels, and consequently ruled without competition.

The Sultân had two sons, Mujâhid Khân who was the heir-apparent, and Fath Khân.

In the latter days of his reign, being seized with the desire of conquering Telingânû the whole of the country came into the possession of the agents of his government.

On returning from that campaign the Sultân, after having reigned seventeen years and seven months, showed signs of an irreligious manner of living, which threw him on the bed of helplessness, and after making Prince Mujâhid Shâh his heir, he obeyed the summons of God.³²

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Sultan Mujâhid Shâh,

son of Sultan Muhammad Shâh,

son of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Hasan Shâh Bahmanî.

WHEN Sultân Muhammad Shâh died in A. H. 775 (A. D. 1373), in accordance with his will, he was succeeded by his son, Sultân Mujâhid Shâh, who bestowed presents and various honours on the nobles and officers.

While thus engaged the Sultân took it into his head to exterminate the infidelity of Bijânagar (Vijayâmagar), and to wage a religious war against the infidels; so with a numerous army and elephants, and placing his confidence in the Bountiful King he proceeded towards Vijayâmagar.

When the Râya, Kaparah,³³ who was the leader of the lords of hill, heard of the approach of the Sultân's army, being hopeless of retaining his life and possessions, was excessively terrified, and shut himself up in the fort. He acted towards the infidels of that country with such helplessness and perturbation that to small and great, young and old, in that calamity the road of management was blocked, and the truth of the saying that "in

³² According to the *Taukharat ul Mafâk*, Sultân Muhammad reigned 28 years, 7 months and 9 days, and died in the year 780 A. H.

³³ According to the genealogy of the Vijayâmagar dynasty given by Mr. Sewell in his *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 183 the Râya of Vijayâmagar at this period was Bukka or Bukka Mahipati, alias Rajendra, who reigned from A. D. 1350-1379. The word Kaparah is very distinctly written in the MS - even the vowel marks are supplied. According to Firishtah the name of this Râya was Krishnâ - Vide Briggs, Vol. II p. 331 et seq.

earthquake is a great thing though it lasts but a little while' became a stern reality to the inhabitants of that part of the country. As a matter of necessity the above-mentioned Rāya, Kaspazāh sent to the court of Mujaḥhid Shāh a number of his most intelligent and distinguished officers, and they representing their weakness and despair, and professing obedience and submission agreed to pay a large sum as *naḥ bahā*²⁴ into the royal treasury, also to deliver over to the agents of the court the keys of the fortress which was the cause of hostilities and dispute. They also presented on behalf of the Rāya, a written agreement to the following effect — 'To the Lord of happy conjunction I am a mean slave, and devote myself heart and soul to his service as long as I live'. This agreement was made on condition that the Sultān should have pity on those helpless ones, and by his royal favour would insure their country against plunder and devastation by the troops.

After this the Sultān being encamped on the bank of the river Kistnah, and indulging in his favourite pursuits, drank cups of ruby-coloured wine, but suddenly Fortune poured the unpalatable *al irbat* of martyrdom into the goblet of his life. The particulars of this are briefly, as follows —

Sultān Mujaḥhid Shāh had a younger brother, or — according to one history — a cousin,²⁵ named Daūd Khān who cherished a desire of usurping the throne, and though outwardly loyal he was secretly intriguing and watching his opportunity. This man with a number of seditious persons one night entered the inner apartment of the Sultān when the latter was asleep in bed and stabbed him with a dagger. The nobles and the troops, on hearing of the assassination of the Sultān rent their clothes with grief.

The duration of the reign of Sultān Mujaḥhid Shāh was one year one month and nine days. This event happened on the 18th of the month Zi ul Hijab, A. H. 779 (17th April A. D. 1377), but God only knows with accuracy!

Note to Chapter III.

[The following is the account of the reign of Sultān Mujaḥhid Shāh given in the *Ta-karat-ul Mulk*]

²⁴ Money given to fore go troops to abstain from plunder and devastation.

²⁵ The latter appears to be the correct relationship as we shall see a little further on. According to Firishtah Dāūd was Mujaḥhid's uncle.

Reign of Mujāhid Shāh Balwant Bahmani.

After his father's death Mujāhid Shāh ascended the throne. In the idiom of the Dakhan he was called "**Balwant**," that is, *strong bodied* he used to eat at one meal thirty *sērs*, each *sēr* being equal in weight to seventy-two *dirhams*,³⁶ and he used to eat three meals a day, which makes ninety *sērs* a day, but God only knows the truth !

Now the custom of the kings (of the Dakhan) was this, that at the time when they ascended the throne of sovereignty Shekh Muhammad Sirāj-ud-Dīn used to present a *pirāhan* and turban which they put on, and then in an auspicious hour took their seat on the throne and the same custom was observed at the accession of Mujāhid.

Mujāhid used daily to repair to the monastery of the *shekh*, and discuss with him the affairs of state. One day he told the *shekh* that he contemplated waging a *jihād* against the infidels in order to add splendour to the faith of Islām. The *shekh* recited the *fātikah* and expressed his approval. Mujāhid daily busied himself in organising his army, and then proceeded against the fort of Adoni with a large force, and laid siege to it for a year, when the garrison running short of water asked for quarter, and the governor of the fort came out and after obtaining a written treaty, returned to the fort with Mujāhid Shāh's deputy in order to evacuate and surrender the fort.

It is said that one of the servants of the *shekh* said to the latter — "Mujāhid Shāh has taken from you an assurance of victory, and from others also has obtained the glad tidings of victory." The *shekh* replied — "I have withdrawn my assurance of victory." This servant then took a letter from the *shekh* to this effect to Mujāhid Shāh, and repeated to him what the *shekh* had said. When Mujāhid understood the contents of the letter he produced it in court and said — "My ancestors were void of understanding when they gave regal power to these *sofāhrs* who are always hungry and thirsty what affinity have we with them? Ask the *shekh* what he means by this presumptuous talk. I shall teach him better manners." The servant replied — "If this be your intention you will never attain this victory."

³⁶ A *dirham* = 48 grains.

On that same night heavy rain fell, and the fort became well supplied with water. The garrison regretted having made peace, and applied themselves to strengthening the fort. They cut off the head of Mujāhid Shāh's deputy, and putting it into a gun, fired it towards the army of Mujāhid Shāh.

When Mujāhid heard of the resistance of the garrison he returned to the city of Ahsanābad, and encamped outside in order that he might enter it on the following day at an auspicious hour. He uttered many threats against the followers of the *shekh*, and there were many Habshis in the trains of the nobles and others, and they having done something which roused the anger of Mujāhid, he uttered threats against them also, and they were in much fear of him. Next day Mujāhid was found on the throne without his head, and it was believed that this deed was perpetrated by *juns*. The disciples of the *shekh* would not allow the body of Mujāhid to be buried in the tomb of the kings, but he was buried near it.

CHAPTER IV.

Reign of Dāūd Shāh

According to the most authentic accounts Sultān Dāūd Shāh was son of Mahmūd Khān, son of Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh Bahmaoi.²⁷

After the martyrdom of Sultān Mujāhid Shāh, the *amirs* and ministers and officers of the army *volens volens* plighted their fealty to Dāūd Shāh, and accepted him as their sovereign, but the widow, or (according to one history) the foster-sister of Mujāhid Shāh, was determined upon revenge, so she bribed one of the Sultān's slaves with a thousand *kuns* and a promise of more, to assassinate the king. Enticed by the bribe, he agreed to under take this dangerous affair, and was watching his opportunity till on a Friday when the Sultān went to prayer in the *masjid* and the people were crowding on one another, that fearless shedder of blood and devoted slave approached the Sultān and caused him to taste the same *sharbat* as Sultān Mujāhid Shāh.²⁸

²⁷ According to Firishtah Dāūd was son — not grand son — of 'Alā ud Dīn Hasan

²⁸ Assassinated him

Muhammad Khān, son of Mahmūd Khān, and younger brother of the Sultān, was present in the crowd, and he felled the murderer to the ground with one blow of his sword, and despatched him from the world. He then returned to the palace, and seated himself on the throne in his brother's place. The nobles, ministers, learned men and *shakhhs* hastening to wait on him, saluted him as king and were all liberally rewarded.

This event happened in the month of Mubarram, A. H. 780 (May, A. D. 1378),³⁹ but God only knows the truth of the matter.

CHAPTER V

Reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh,

son of Mahmūd Khān,

son of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh Bahmanī.⁴⁰

THE nobles and military officers having acknowledged Sultān Muḥammad Shāh as their sovereign, placed the royal crown on his head and seated him on the throne. The ministers of state, great men of the court and those learned in the law, all obtained honours and rewards suitable to their rank and circumstances.

He was a king adorned with the ornament of intelligence and understanding and decorated with the jewel of justice and equity. In his time the people were at rest on the reclining place of safety and security. In his age the dagger of tyranny and the sword of injustice rotted in their scabbards. In his reign there was no vestige of unlawful things, and habits of iniquity and impiety were removed from his time. He founded *madaris*, public schools

³⁹ According to Firishtah it happened on the 21st Mubarram 780 which corresponds to the 20th May 1378 A. D. The author of the *Tazkara-i al-Mulūk* says he reigned one year one month and three days which exactly agrees with the *Burhān-i Ma'ādir*, but Firishtah only gives him a reign of one month and five days.

⁴⁰ There is here a serious discrepancy between our author and Firishtah. According to the latter the fifth king of the dynasty was Mahmūd son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn I. but Firishtah must be wrong for the coinage shows that the name of the Bahmanī king reigning at this period was Mu'ammad. Histories written quite independently of Firishtah—such as the *Tazkara-i al-Mulūk* and *Tārīkh-i Jahān Arā*—also corroborate the statement of our author. Dr O. Codrington has recently written about this in the *Muslimanic Chronicle* (3rd Series, Vol. XVIII, pages 259-273) and quotes a letter of mine on the subject.

and monasteries, and never permitted any receding or swerving from the straight road of rectitude and justice and the highway of the divine law. He held fast all the country which had come into the possession of his illustrious grandfather and his paternal uncle, and from partisans or friends in those parts no rebellion or sedition showed itself, and they never swerved from the road of obedience and subjection. The Sultan did not lend any army in any direction, but spread the carpet of justice and liberality, and so engaged himself in the requisites of self-ovulent duty and prohibiting unlawful things that no one had an opportunity of deviating from the beaten path of the divine law.

It is related that during the reign of this just king a certain woman, being charged with the disgraceful act of adultery, was taken for trial to the *Lâzi's* court. On the way there an artifice occurred to the woman's mind, and when she was presented before the *Lâ'î*, being questioned as to her reason for committing that disgraceful act, she replied:—"O *kâzi*, a doubt has occurred to me on this point. Is each man permitted by the precepts of religion to have four wives? My opinion was that women might act in the same manner, now that I am aware of its impropriety, I am ashamed of the deed, and repent." The *Lâ'î*, astonished at her answer, remained silent, and that sinful impostor being freed from punishment hastened to her house.

During his reign Sultân Muhammad promoted Khwîrî Jahîr—who was one of the *amîrs* of his illustrious grandfather—to the rank of Vakil and Amir ul-Umra, and Sayyid Tîj ud-Dîn Jakâjût, son of Sayyid Rîzî ud-Dîn Kath-ul-Mulk, after his father, obtained from the Sultan the title of Kath ul Mulk.

After a reign of nineteen years and nine months or—according to another account—nineteen years and six months, this just king died.

This event occurred on the 26th of the month Rajab, A. H. 799 (27th April, A. D. 1397).⁴¹

Sultân Muhammad Shâh had two sons—Sultân Ghayâs ud-Dîn Muhammad Shâh and Sultân Shams ud-Dîn Dâ'ud Shâh both of whom reigned in their turn.⁴²

⁴¹ According to the *Tazkarat-ul Mulik* he died in A. H. 801 after a reign of nineteen years six months and five days.

⁴² I cannot understand the name *Dâ'ud* being added to Shams ud-Dîn's name.

CHAPTER VI

Reign of Abû l-Muzaffar Sultân Ghîyâs-ud-Dîn wa ud-Dunyâ
Bahman Shâh, son of Sultân Muhammad Shâh,
son of Mahmûd,
son of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Hasan Shâh Bahmanî

AFTER the death of Sultân Muhammad Shâh, the generals, the *amirs* and *wazirs*, the learned men and the suite and servants of the court having consented to the accession of Sultân Ghîyâs-ud-Dîn, who had travelled but twelve stages of his life,⁴³ they raised the regal umbrella over his head, and all joined in the honour of pledging their loyalty and tendering their congratulations. The Sultân, notwithstanding his tender age, distinguished the nobles and grantees by royal courtesy, and presented them with robes of honour and various gifts, and having renewed for the nobles the *farmâns* under which they held their feudal lands, and bestowed on them countless dignities, confirmed them in their former possession in the country. He then busied himself in the arrangement of various important affairs of the country and nation.

Sultân Ghîyâs ud Dîn busied himself in improving the position of his father's slaves and gave them too loose a rein. One of these named Tughalbakhi,⁴⁴ he exalted above all the nobles, consequently he turned the reins from the side of rectitude and as the Sultân had removed some of his father's nobles it occurred to this man that the Sultân might do the same to the slaves, he therefore took steps to remedy the eventuality before its occurrence. Under the pretext of an entertainment he took the Sultân to his own house and there with a red hot skewer deprived him of his sight. He then deposed the Sultân, and raised to the throne the younger brother of the latter, named Sultân Shams ud Dîn.

This event happened on the 17th of the month Ramazan, A. H. 799 (14th June, A. D. 1396) and the duration of the Sultân's reign was one month and eight days, but God Almighty alone knows the truth of things!

⁴³ I.e. he was twelve years old. According to Firishtah he was in his seven, tenth year at his accession.

⁴⁴ It is difficult to say what is the correct spelling of this name. In some places it looks like *Boghlaj*.

CHAPTER VII.

Reign of Sultān Shāms-ud-Dīn Dā'ūd Shāh,
son of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh,
son of Mahmūd Shāh,

son of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Shāh Bahmanī⁴⁵

WHEN the faithless Tughlakhī, with the concurrence of the nobles, deprived Sultān Ghiyās-ud Dīn of his sight by means of a skewer, he—with the approval of the nobles and ministers, *shells* and learned men and grandees of the country and nation—seated on the throne of sovereignty Sultān Shāms-ud-Dīn, who had not yet travelled seven stages on the journey of life,⁴⁶ but he kept the reins of power in his own hands, so that Shāms ud-Dīn was Sultan in name only.

Firōz Khān and Ahmad Khān, grandsons of Sultān 'Alā-ud Dīn Ḥasan Shāh, who were worthy of the sovereignty, and eventually in their own persons added ornament and beauty to the crown and throne were faithful in their allegiance to Sultān Shāms ud-dīn, but Tughlakhī and all the slaves of the Sultan, who were inimical to them, were always plotting to remove them in order to usurp the sovereignty for themselves. In consequence of this the two princes were obliged to fly to the fort of Sagar. The *kotwal* who had charge of this fort received the princes in a friendly manner and promised them all the assistance in his power. He joined them with a large number of retainers of those parts, and they proceeded against Sultān Shāms ud-Dīn. But when the two parties met, the Kotwal of Sagar proved faithless.

The nobles of Sultān Shāms ud Dīn, deeming it advisable by promises of aid to the princes to endeavour to sprinkle extinguishing water on the fire of rebellion and contention which was fiercely burning, sent a trustworthy person to Firuz Khān and Ahmad Khān with a written treaty of peace and since the princes saw the most prudent course was to abandon contention and submit themselves they waited on the Sultan and folded up the carpet of strife.

When some time had thus passed, the idea of getting rid of the two princes again occurred to the minds of the slaves. The

⁴⁵ This heading is evidently wrong. It should be,— Reign of Shāms-ud Dīn Shāh son of Muḥammad II, son of Mahmūd Khān, son of Sultān 'Alā-ud Dīn Ḥasan Shāh Bahmanī. Muḥammad does not appear to have had any son.

⁴⁶ According to Firishtah he was in his fifteenth year.

heart of the mother of the Sultân still burned with the remembrance of the fate of Sultân Ghīyās-ud Dīn, and the slaves persuaded her that Firūz Khān and Ahmad Khān were the cause of that base action. On this account the Sultân's mother conceived hatred against the two princes and set herself in opposition to them. The foster sister of the Sultân, who was called Maḥdūmah Jahān, was the wife of Firūz Khān, and she having obtained information of this plot immediately hurried home and informed her husband. Firūz Khān and his brother then held counsel together, and most of the principal *amīrs*, such as Khwājah Jahān, Azhdar Khān, Malik Shahāb, Sayid Tāj-ud-dīn Jakāyūt, Kutb-ul-Mulk and others who were vexed and distressed by the despotic power of the slaves, united together, and arranged that on the following day they were to go to the palace with a number of armed men, and before the slaves should hear of it, to seize and imprison the Sultân and seat Sultân Firūz on the throne.

Next day Sultân Firūz and Sultân Ahmad with a multitude of followers mounted and proceeded to the court; and after posting a number of their adherents at each door went on till they found the Sultân, whom they seized and imprisoned, and Sultân Firūz took his place on the throne.

In most histories it is stated that this event occurred on the 23rd Sifar, A. H. 800 (14th February, A. D. 1397). Sultân Shams-ud-Dīn reigned for the space of five months and seven days.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reign of Sultân-i Ghāzlan Tāj-ud-Dunyā

wa ud-Dīn Abū-l-Muḥaffar Sultân Firūz Shah,

son of Ahmad Khān,

son of Sultân 'Alā-ud-Dīn Bahmanī.⁴⁷

AFTER the deposition and imprisonment of Sultân Shams-ud-Dīn, on the same day Sultân Firūz placed the royal crown on his head and seated himself on the throne. The *amīrs*, *vazīrs*, *saigids*, *shekhs* and learned men hastened to salute him, and obtained the felicity of kissing his feet; and his companions in adversity were eloquent in their congratulations and promises.

⁴⁷ According to Firakhtah, Firūz and Ahmad were sons of Dāūd.

Sultân Firâz Shâh having imprisoned Tughalbakhi and the other conspirators, honoured the nobles and generals with sumptuous robes of honour and numerous presents, and promoted his adherents. He conferred on his brother, Ahmad Khân, the title of Khân Khânân, and Khwâjah Jahân, who previous to this held an office under government, he confirmed in the same employment. For the *amirs* and those holding lands on fiefal tenure he sent *farmâns* and robes of honour, and the revenue affairs were carried on as formerly. He behaved with justice, kindness and liberality towards his troops and subjects, and being determined to use his best endeavours in the suppression of infidelity and the strengthening of the Faith, he contemplated the conquest of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, so in a short time he marched an army in that direction and subdued and killed the infidels of those parts.

Devadâr (Devarîja ?), who was the chief (*mukodlam*) of those infidels, sent a person to the Sultân's court, and representing their weakness and despair, penitently asked for pardon, and stated that if the Sultân would draw the pen of forgiveness through the pages of their offences, and secure them against his royal displeasure and wrath they would pay into the public treasury the sum of thirty thousand *laks* of *tankah*, and that each year a fixed sum should be sent to the foot of the royal throne, taking a receipt from the court auditor of accounts. The Sultân having washed with this limpid water of forgiveness and condonation the registers of offences of those penitent people took from the Râya of Vijayanagar the sum agreed upon, and then quickly returned in triumph to his capital, where he spent nearly a year in enjoying himself.

After that, the desire of waging a *jihâd* against the cities and towns of the infidels having entered the Sultân's mind, in the beginning of the year 802 (A D 1399), he ordered a large army to be assembled, and on an auspicious day he marched towards the fort of Sagar. When the chiefs of that district heard of the Sultân's approach they tendered their submission and paid the revenue of the country into the royal treasury, and so remained secure from attack by the army.

[Since the Sultân in the neighbourhood of Sagar, by his good fortune and the influence of his fresh and numerous victories

obtained the submission of the *zamindars* and *Rājas* of those parts, he gave to Sagar the name of *Nusratābād*]⁴⁹

When he had received the thirty-three *laks* of *tan'ah* — which was the sum fixed for payment by the *Rīz* of *Vijyānagar* — his desires being accomplished, and his important affairs carried to a successful issue, he returned towards his capital, and having encamped for some time on the bank of the river *Jahnūr*⁵⁰ which is near *Kalburgah* and is commonly known as the *Bhanūr* he founded a city there, and that city was commonly known as *Firūzābād*.

In this year (A. H. 802 — A. D. 1399) *Sayid Muḥammad Gīsh-darāz* (long locks),⁵¹ with a number of disciples and *dāvisheh*

⁴⁸ This passage in brackets is omitted in the L. O. MS

⁴⁹ Evidently the river *Bhīmā*

⁵⁰ This famous Muhammadan saint was born at *Dillī* on the 15th Rajab, A. H. 721 (30th July, A. D. 1321). His proper name is *Saḥr ud Dīn Muḥammad Husayn*, but he was commonly called *Muḥammad Gīsh Darāz*, on account of his having long ringlets. He was a disciple of *Shekh Nāṣir ud Dīn Chiragh* of *Dillī*, who sent him to the *Dakhan* in A. H. 802 (A. D. 1399) during the reign of *Sultān Firūz Shāh Bahmānī*. The latter received him with much honour and respect, but afterwards quarrelled with him and to this disagreement with the saint the author of the *Durāḥ* : *Ud-dūr* attributes the subsequent misfortunes of *Sultān Firūz*.

Firishah tells us that *Sultān Ahmad* in the early part of his reign, showered favours on the venerable *sayid*, and as the people generally follow the example of their king, the inhabitants of the *Dakhan* chose him for their guide in religious affairs, so that his residence became a place of pilgrimage to all sects. The king withdrew his favour from the family of *Shekh Sirāj ud Dīn*, and conferred it on that of the holy *sayid*, to whom he granted in perpetuity several towns, villages and extensive lands near *Kalburgā*, and built for him a magnificent college and monastery not far from the city. The people of the *Dakhan* had such a respect for the saint that a *Dakhanī* on being once asked whom he considered the greater personage, the Prophet *Muḥammad* or the *sayid*, replied, with some surprise at the question, that although the Prophet was undoubtedly a great man, yet *Sayid Muḥammad Gīsh Darāz* was a far superior order of being.

He died at *Kalburgā* on the 18th of *Zī al Ḥa'dah*, A. H. 823 (1st November, A. D. 1421) at the age of a hundred years. His *dargāh* (shrine) is still to be seen at *Kalburgā*, and a chronogram recording the date of his death is inscribed on it. The verses are translated as follows by Professor *Fairbank* (*Madras Handbook*, 2nd edition, p. 379) —

"Like that of *Gīsh Darāz* the *Dakhan* boasts no shrine!

"*Gīsh Darāz* ' the empire of *Islām* and of this world are thine! "

The date of the saint's death is given in the symbolical letters which compose the words

مخدوم دین و دنیا

Lord of the Faith and of the World

A muḥ kuzer / frī / giving the day of the month as well as the year of his death and ending in the same way is, is given in the *Majlis ul Tarāikh* : 114

came from Dihli to the Dakhau, and by his honoured presence made Kilburg the envy of heaven.

The Sultân was rejoiced to hear of the *shekh's* arrival, and sent some learned men to wait, and requesting information about him, to inform the Sultân of the truth of the matter. They visited him according to the Sultân's orders, and found him perfect in all kinds of sciences and miracles, so they hastened to the Sultân and informed him of what they had found. This being the means of increasing the Sultân's belief he bankered after the society of that perfect instructor, and in ceremonious and respectful treatment neglecting not the smallest trifle, he assigned several cultivated lands to him as reward. Some have said that in the first interview between the Sultan and Sayid Muhammad Gisû-darâz an altercation occurred which used to increase day by day up to the time when, according to the revolution of fate, the Sultân was deposed, and that it was owing to his want of attention to that cream of his race that he experienced the misfortunes which he did, as will presently be related.

The Sultân again conceiving the idea of waging a religious war against the infidels of the country of Vijyânagar, despatched an army in that direction. When they arrived there the troops opened the hand of slaughter and plunder, and threw the fire of chastisement among the infidel inhabitants of that country. By force of arms they conquered several of the districts of Bhanûr and Musalakal. The Sultân having appropriated the fixed sum of thirty three *laks* returned to his capital with immense booty, and after spending nearly a year there, liberally bestowing largess, he again assembled his army and moved towards Mahûr, but finding that fortress excessively strong and surrounded by an almost impenetrable jungle he was obliged to make peace with the Râya of that place, and after exacting from him a large sum by way of tribute and contribution, returned to his capital.

At this time two slaves named Hushyar and Bidâr who by royal favours and rank were distinguished above all the courtiers, had various dignities conferred on them and most of the important affairs of government and the army were conducted according to their judgment and opinion. Bidâr was given the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Hushyar that of 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

In the midst of these affairs *Khwaysh Jahin* to whom, owing to his sagacity, the affairs of government had been committed, bid farewell to this perishable world, and his rank also was conferred on *Bidir* and *Hûshyar*.

The Sultan being determined to conquer *Telinganâ* proceeded in that direction till having got near *Rajimundri* he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken possession of the whole of that territory he consigned it to agents of government, and then set out for his capital.

It is related that this sovereign during the period of his reign which was twenty five years and a fraction, made twenty three (or twenty-four, according to other accounts— but God only knows secrets accurately) expeditions against the districts and cities of the infidels, and plundered and devastated the countries of those accursed ones, and every year exacted from the mahals of *Vijayânagar* the sum of thirty-three *laks* of *tanulûh*, as originally fixed, and from *Telingânâ* to *Rajimundri* and from *Vijay nagar* to *Râichûr* the whole country was conquered by his army. In the latter days of his reign, the Sultan, who was nearly seventy years of age, and apparently much reduced in strength, was still strong in guarding the religion of Islam and the faith of the Prophet and notwithstanding his weakness, he had sufficient strength to undertake *jihâds* against the infidels.

Towards the end of his reign he was compelled once more to march against *Vijayansgar*, and was determined to take the fort of *Pangal*, which is one of the strongest and most celebrated of that district, but while he was on the way there, a body of troops of the accursed devils opposed the royal army with much bravery, and did not fall short in the fight, but after a severe struggle the Sultan's army was victorious the infidels were defeated, and the world was cleared from the pollution of their impure existence, and immense booty fell into the hands of the victorious army. The Sultan sent to his capital despatches announcing the victory, and then marched against the fortress of *Pangal* which he besieged, but the garrison bravely sallied out and made a night attack on the Sultan's camp. In this fight fortune turned against the arms of the Muhammadans, and many of the true believers lost their lives. The army of Islam being completely defeated the Sultan marched from that place, halting nowhere till he reached

the village of Ittakûr and those accursed impious people made *chabûtaras* with the (dead bodies of the) Musalman leaders. Owing to this defeat the physical weakness of the Sultan was increased, and many people believed that the defeat was due to the change of feelings of Sayyid Mubhammad Gîsû darâz.

When the Sultân having halted for some time at Ittakûr had somewhat recovered from his vexation he turned towards his capital, and settling down there went on no more expeditions, but spent his time in prayer, charity and good works and promoting the happiness of his people, and resigned the affairs of government to Bidâr Nîzâm ul Mulk and Hushyâr 'Ain ul Mulk.

Whoever sees authority in his hands is sure some day to rebel and aim at supremacy; and great men have said that the foundations of service of low born people are fear and hope. When they lose fear and feel themselves secure they make turbid the fountain of loyalty, and when, by the acquisition of their desires, they become independent the fire of ingratitude and sedition is kindled. It behoves a king, therefore, not to so exclude them from his benevolence that being without hope they should side with his enemies, and at the same time not to give them so much favour and power that they should conceive the idea of independence and rebellion, and sages have said that to cherish an ignoble person is to demean one's self and to lose the thread of one's own actions.

* * * * *

Such was the case with Bidâr and Hûshyâr, who owing to the natural blackness and envy of their dispositions as well as by their elevation had injured the good fortune of Sultan Firuz.

These two inconsiderate *was* used always to be hypocritical towards Khân Khânân and wished to exclude him from the succession. Khân Khânân was the Sultan's brother, and owing to his understanding, mildness of disposition, generosity, bravery and other good qualities the hearts of all the nobles, ministers and subjects, and most of the army were inclined towards him, and were anxious to make him Sultan, but Hushyâr and Bidâr persuaded the Sultan—who never failed to follow their advice—to make his eldest son, Hasan, the heir and present him with the royal canopy and give him the title of Hasan Shâh. But notwithstanding even with this, they formed a plot, and represented to the

Sultân that until the kingdom was free from the power of Khan Khânân, Hasan Shâh could never sit on the throne, also that Khan Khânân was always carrying favour with the subjects and the army, and that all the courtiers and populace were his well-wishers. Having no other resource Sultân Firûz Shâh countenanced the plot against Khan Khânân, and though, on account of his near relationship he was unwilling to put him to death, yet he consented to have him blinded. But Shîr Khân, who was son of the Sultân's sister, having gained intelligence of this scheme, hastened to Khan Khânân and represented to him the position of affairs. Khan Khânân promised to fly, and with his eldest son /asaf Khân—who, after his father, aspired to the sovereignty—waited on Saiyid Muhammad Gisu darîz to ask his aid in attaining his objects and desires. The Saiyid received them with much honour and respect, and ordering food to be brought gave them to eat. He then with the hand of blessing himself tied turbans on their heads and predicted sovereignty for both of them. Khan Khânân, assisted and inspired with hope, then took leave of that illustrious man, went to his house and with a number of trustworthy attendants prepared for flight. Just then a merchant from Iahsâ called Khalf Hasan (who afterwards in the reign of Sultân Ahmad obtained the title of Malik ut Tijar, and who was celebrated for his great bravery and generosity), having this year brought Arab horses for sale to the government and having received a portion of the price of them, paid a visit to Sultân Ahmad. When by his shrewdness he became aware of the contemplated flight of Ahmad Shâh, he reminded him of the days of their friendly companionship as well as the requirements of sincerity and fidelity, and vowed to serve him at the risk of his life.

On the night when the Sultân (Ahmad) intended going forth, Khalf Hasan was present at the door of Sultân Ahmad's house. Suddenly the latter with four hundred faithful and fully-equipped attendants issued from the house with the intention of flight. Khalf Hasan coming forward saluted him with the title of "Sultân." Ahmad gathered a good omen from this salutation, and said to Khalf Hasan—"Go to your house with all speed, for you are a merchant and a stranger, and if anyone sees you with your property may be plundered and even your life sacrificed on account of me." Khalf Hasan replied—"At the time of ease and

leisure to be a companion and confidant, and in the days of adversity to sprinkle the dust of inconstancy in the eyes of manhood and turn ones back on ones benefactor is contrary to the requirements of religion and manliness and is abhorrent to the disposition of an Arab or Persian as long as there is life and breath in my body Heaven forbid that I should ride far from your stirrup! Kings, in their numerous important affairs have need of ministers so it is possible that eventually some business needing the assistance of inferiors may ensue For the work done by the weak needle the head-exalting spear after all is inferior to it, and the sword is amazed at the work accomplished by the slender pen knife, and a servant, however worthless and untrustworthy he may be, is not without his uses in averting injury and blows

Sultan Ahmad, highly approving of the sincerity and faithfulness of Khalif Hasan regarded this also as a proof of his own future good fortune, and said to Khalif Hasan — 'If the sovereignty comes into my grasp you shall be a partner in my good fortune, and be requited for the fidelity and kindness which you have shown towards me'

Sultan Ahmad with his adherents then left Kalbarga and proceeded towards Telangan.

When the news of the flight of Sultan Ahmad was noised abroad in the city, Hushyar and Bidar awaking from the sleep of negligence,⁵¹ in a state of perplexity and helplessness waited on the Sultan, and asked permission to pursue Khan Khânan. The Sultan, owing to his near relationship and the bonds of fraternity, was unwilling to do so, and said — 'Wherever Khan Khânan through fear of his life may have hidden himself, it seems best to leave him alone' The unhappy Hushyar and Bidar having gained over some of the nobles again represented to the Sultan, saying — 'The departure of Sultan Ahmad will be the cause of endless rebellion and sedition, it is therefore advisable to send people in pursuit of him and prevent his assembling a force, and to throw the stone of separation among his adherents so that the idea of rebellion may not enter his mind, for if he succeeds in collecting a large force it will be difficult to deal with him'

⁵¹ A clever play on words —

بشار و بدار از خواب غلاب بیدار گشت

Since the power of Hishyā and the senseless Bidā⁵² had arrived at such a stage that the Sultan had no choice in the matter he maintained silence. Hushyir and Bidā with thirty elephants and 20 000 horse went in pursuit of Sultan Ahmad and by doing so injured the reputation of Knuz and made themselves the butt of the arrows of the accidents of the time. For every affair of consequence founded upon deception and treachery inevitably ends in destruction and regret, and the sages have said — The most foolish of men are those who awaken sleeping tumult.

* * * * *

Sultan Ahmad had stopped two days in Ni'matābād, when at the middle hour between sun rise and meridian⁵³ a cloud of dust arose on the road and a portion of the royal army with the elephants came in view, upon which Sultān Ahmad proposed retreating without offering any opposition, but Khalf Hasan went up to him and said —

“To leave the battle field without a wound is shabby, let his Highness wait a little till his slave exposes himself to battle and strives his utmost.”

It fortunately happened that a band of cattle hirers (*mufarīdū*) — called Banjirahs in the dialect of Hindustan — had halted in the neighbourhood of that place, having with them a great number of bullocks. Sultan Ahmad on the principle that ‘War is fraud,’⁵⁴ having thought of a stratagem purchased the whole of their bullocks at a high price, and after tying cloths on their horns, arranged a troop of these bullocks facing the enemy, while he himself advanced with 400 well equipped cavalry. The plan was, fortunately, as successful as he anticipated. A portion of the Sultan's force, which fell upon the bullocks, at sight of them being completely overcome with terror, stood still and then fell back on the others as Sultān Ahmad and Khalf Hasan attacked them. An elephant of mountain like body and demon like aspect was foremost in the royalist force, Khalf Hasan threw a spear and hit it in the trunk, upon which the elephant turned on its own ground and took to flight,

⁵² Another clever pun —

شبار و بدار ناپشمار

⁵³ Chāh-i-jah breakfast time

⁵⁴ لغز جوعد . . . stratagem is necessary in war

and the royalists seeing this, also turned and fled. Sultan Ahmad pursued them, and the generals seeing their only resource was submission, came forward from their troops, and throwing themselves from their horses, respectfully kissed the ground before Sultan Ahmad in token of submission. The Sultan treated them courteously and made them hopeful of his favour. He took possession of all the elephants, horses and baggage of Husliyar and Ildai, and those two men — unsuccessful and discomfited like their own fortune — were soon put to death by the troops.

After that Sultan Ahmad with a large army set out on the march for Kalburgi, and at every stage — nay, even at every step — *amirs* with their horsemen and retinue vied with one another in hastening to pay their respects to him, and were rendered happy by kissing the ground in submission to him, and were enrolled among his adherents.

When the news of the approach of Sultan Ahmad was passed on, the sons and slaves of Sultan Firuz made him *volens volens* mount and go out of the city to give him battle. Historians have related that one day Sultan Firuz having collected 7,000 cavalry went out of Kalburga with the intention of fighting Sultan Ahmad, but next day, on investigation, only 3,000 remained, the rest having hastened off to join Sultan Ahmad. When Sultan Firuz saw the state of affairs, abandoning all idea of opposition, he returned to Kalburga, and with the tongue of inspiration uttered these words — ‘When my good fortune was in the ascendant, each time that I rode forth from the city such an army used to assemble at my heaven-like court that calculators, through inability, used to abandon the attempt to compute its numbers, but to day when fortune has turned against me and the throne of sovereignty has become the prize of another, seven thousand horse become one thousand.’

When the news of the return of Soltân Firûz to the city reached Sultan Ahmad, hastening to traverse the intervening distance he alighted near a place of prayer of Kalburga, and Sultan Firuz sent the *sayids* and learned men of the state to him with the keys of the fortress.

* In an hour's time Sultan Ahmad of fortunate aspect — like his own auspicious fortune — arrived at the court, and acting in the

same ceremonious and respectful manner which had been his former habit, he alighted at his brother's door, and in his accustomed manner saluted Sultan Firûz who was seated on the royal throne, and then stood in his old place, but Sultan Firuz descended from the throne and caught his brother to his breast, and they wept together for some time Sultan Ahmad pleading excuses made many apologies, saying — "I his boldness was due to fear of my life" Sultan Firuz said — "Praise be to God that the sovereignty has fixed its residence in its own house I have been to blame in that while having a brother such as you, I nominated another for the sovereignty, but since the Creator of the World has willed that it is to remain in our family, I now desire that you should treat your nephew Hasan Khan kindly and that according to approved usages you should settle Firûzâbad upon him and his heirs for ever, and make no change in this arrangement, for it is fitting that the fruit of the friendship which has always existed between me and you should show itself in our posterity."

When Sultan Firûz had finished the expression of his testamentary wishes he took the sword from his waist, and binding it on that of Sultan Ahmad, took him by the arm and seated him on the throne

Shortly after his abdication Sultan Firûz Shâh died, and this event happened on the 11th Shawwâl, A. H. 825 (28th September 1422 A. D.)

As to the cause of the death of this monarch of exalted dignity various accounts are related, but the most authentic is that Shir Khân, son of the Sultan's sister, convinced Sultan Ahmad that the existence of Sultan Firuz would give rise to sedition, and that since it is impossible for two swords to be in one scabbard, so also it is impossible for two kings to exist in one place. Led astray by the arguments of Shir Khân, Sultan Ahmad consented to have Firûz Shâh put to death, and on the date above mentioned he employed some men to strangle him, but God only knows the truth of the matter

Sultan Firûz was an impetuous and a mighty monarch, and expended all his ability and energy in eradicating and destroying tyranny and heresy, and he took much pleasure in the society of

shekhs, learned men and hermits. His reign lasted twenty five years, seven months and eleven days

After the death of Sultân Firûz, Sultân Ahmad sent Hasan Khân and all the other sons of the late king, in accordance with his will, to Firûzâbâd, and assigned that city to them, but in a short time Hasan Khân also bid farewell to this transitory world and joined his illustrious father⁵⁵

Note to Chapter VIII.

[The following is the account of the reign of Sultân Firûz Shâh given in the *Tazkharat ul Muluk*]

Reign of Sultân Firûz Shâh, son of Ahmad Khân Bahmanî.

He was a good, just, generous and pious king he supported himself by copying the *Kur'ân*, and the ladies of his *haram* used to support themselves by embroidering garments and selling them. As a ruler he was without an equal, and many records of his justice still remain on the page of time. One is the city which he built on the bank of the river Krishna,⁵⁶ he erected a lofty building in that city, and completed it, and constructed fortifications *out farsal⁵⁷* in extent round it, made of cut stone, and for a long time he lived in that city in enjoyment and the gratification of his desires. It chanced that at one time heavy rain fell, and the water of the river overflowed to such an extent that the country round for three or four *farsal⁵⁸* was flooded and much damage was caused. In the streets and *bâzâr* of the city the water rose so high that the Sultân and his family for seven days and nights had to live in the upper storey of the palace. The fortifications and the city still remain, but that building has not remained. The city is known by the name of Firûzâbâd.

* * * * *

He took Bâhî Kamâl as his spiritual adviser, and became his disciple. Facing his own dome (tomb) another of elaborate

⁵⁵ According to Firishtah (Briggs Vol II. p 400) Hasan Khân lived till after the death of his uncle Ahmad Shâh when he was blinded and kept a prisoner in his palace at Firûzâbâd.

Here ends the first *Tobakah* of the *Burhan i Ma'asir*

⁵⁶ This should be the Bhind, a branch of the Krishna.

⁵⁷ 6000 yards

construction was built for the saint and beneath it a reservoir which the Sultan built during his lifetime the dome and reservoir are still in existence

* * * * *

The affairs of state, both great and little, he entrusted to Sultan Ahmad, whilst he himself only attended to his devotions and Sultan Ahmad's power being very great in the government he gained over to his side the nobles and ministers and the whole of the army, and meditated opposition to the Sultan

One day someone informed Sultan Firuz that Sultan Ahmad was plotting against him and contemplated carrying him off and becoming king in his place and advised the Sultan to be on his guard, he only replied — What remedy is there against the decrees of Fate? It is certain that he will be king after me

It is well known that seventy of the troops had mutinied against Sultan Firuz and he had sentenced them to death, but at the intercession of Sultan Ahmad their lives were spared and they were promoted These men joined Sultan Ahmad in plotting to kill Sultan Firuz There were many Habshi slaves in the service of the Sultan as personal attendants one of these Habshis who was in charge of the royal wardrobe used every morning to bring the Sultan's clothes into his private apartments and dress him When Sultan Ahmad's power increased he wished to establish himself in the sovereignty, and deceiving the Habshis and soldiers by false promises persuaded them to join him in putting Sultan Firuz to death

One day Sultan Ahmad after making elaborate preparations came to the door of Sultan Firuz's palace with the intention of assassinating him When the sentries saw this they began fighting with the followers of Sultan Ahmad and many were killed on both sides At last the Habshi *jūmah dār*,⁵⁴ who was a confidential servant, told the guards that he would go and acquaint the Sultan with the attack of Sultan Ahmad, but he had previously promised the latter to assassinate the Sultan at the time of the fighting Watching his opportunity he entered the private apartment of Sultan Firuz, who

⁵⁴ Keeper of the wardrobe a servant who hands the clothes to his master

at the time was engaged in reading the word of God. That unfortunate Habshî killed Sultan Inuz with a dagger, and then informed the people of the fact.

When the troops of the Sultan became aware of the murder they retired from the fight and each one hid himself. Some of the nobles raised the eldest son of Sultan Inuz to the throne but at the same moment Sultan Ahmad put him to death, and seated himself on the throne.

The duration of the reign of Sultan Inuz was twenty five years, seven months and twelve days, and the period of the sovereignty of the eight Bahmanî kings in the city of Ahsanîbid was eighty-two years, five months and eighteen days, but God only knows!

CHAPTER IX

Tabakah II

Account of the Bahmanî Rulers of the Dakhan whose capital was Bidar.

THE period of their rule, which began on the 5th Shawwâl, A. H. 825 (22nd September, A. D. 1422) and ended on the 16th Shûbân, A. H. 926 (4th August, A. D. 1520) was one hundred and one years, two months and eleven days.*

Reign of Abû-l-Ghâzi Sultan Ahmad Shah,

son of Ahmad Khân,

son of Sultan 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Hasan Shah Bahmanî.⁶⁰

On the date already mentioned Sultan Ahmad Shah took his seat on the royal throne of Kalburga, assuming the above mentioned excellent titles. The great men and *sajids*, the *shêh*, learned men, nobles and grandees plighted their fealty to the Sultan, rubbing the forehead of profound reverence on the dust of humility, and were eager and eloquent in their congratulations and praises. The Sultan distinguished them all with ungrudging

* In this period the author includes the reign of Ahmad II the nominal successor of Sultan Mahmûd but he gives no account of his reign because the history is practically exp. on the death of Mahmûd.

⁶⁰ It is widely different from Sultan Ahmad's genealogy as given by Firuzshâh.

favours, and they obtained honours and rewards. The nobles who had suffered much from the ascendancy of the worthless Hushyâr and Bidar gave thanks night and day, and cheerfully submitted to the Sultân's irresistible mandates. The army and all the subjects, from the copiousness of their sovereign's liberality and justice were happy and free from oppression.

Sultân Ahmad Shâh had seven sons, and on the elder ones he bestowed special tokens of affection. The eldest of his sons, who was Zafar Khân, he honoured with the title of Khân Khânân, to another he gave the title of Mahmûd Khân, and to another that of Muhammad Khân, and Khalf Hasan, the cream of sincerity, fidelity and bravery, received many marks of favour and kindness, and was distinguished by the title of Malîk-ut-Tijâr (king of the merchants).

In the midst of these affairs the bird of the spirit of Sayyid Muhammad Gisûdarây took flight to the realms of bliss. May the Most High God hallow his grave!¹⁰¹

Sultân Ahmad Shâh, who took great pleasure in the society of *shelâhs* and holy men, and had himself attained a high degree of perfection in the external sciences, did not put much faith in the *shelâhs* of the Dakhan, but having heard that there resided in the city of Kirmân a most eminent saint named Shâh Ni'mat-u-Dîn, celebrated for his miracles and his profound knowledge, the Sultân therefore ordered Shekh Khûyan—who was one of the disciples of the saint—in conjunction with Kîrî Mûsâ Nûrkîhî—who was the tutor of Prince Mahmûd Khân—and Malîk-nsh-Shark Kalankar Khân, with innumerable presents, to go to the saint and implore his blessing. They accordingly set out for Kirmân, and paid their respects to the saint, and from the blessing of his holy utterances having obtained their desires, returned, taking with them the cap of discipleship and the garment of approval for Sultân Ahmad Shâh. When the news of their arrival reached the Sultân he ordered a *shahâdurah* to be erected at Antûr,¹⁰² which is distant one stage from Halburgâ, and the Sultân went out on a pilgrimage to that place, and there received the garment and cap of the incomparable saint.

¹⁰¹ He died—as already stated—on the 16th of Zi ul ka'dab, A. H. 825 (1st November, A. D. 1422).

¹⁰² Antûr—between Halburgâ and Afrâpur.

In the month of Rajab in the second year of his reign (June 1423, A D) the Sultân with the princes, nobles and ministers and all his retinue marched from Halburgâ towards the city of Bidar, and established the seat of government in that excellent city, where the face of the earth from the multitude of flower and odoriferous herbs, adorned and coloured like the floor of the sky, resembled a peacock's tail, while its buildings in loftiness rivalled the heavens, and in elegance equalled the palaces of paradise and the splendour of its ramparts and the lustre of its walls made the people independent of the rays of the sun.

Also in this year the Sultân cultivated friendly relations with (Min) Mubârak Khân Firûkî, who was the *Hakim* of the country of Asir and Burhînpur, and to strengthen its foundations by a union of the families, asked his daughter in marriage for Prince Zâfir Khân. The Sultân gave a magnificent entertainment on the occasion of the marriage, the city of Bidar was elaborately decorated and pleasure and joy were universal

* * * * *

Sultân Ahmad Shâh wages war against the rebellious and idolatrous people in the neighbourhood of his dominions.

The Sultân being then resolved to wage war against the infidels led his army into the mountainous country,^c and the inhabitants being unable to oppose him fled into the interior, hiding themselves and their goods in the recesses of the mountains, where the royal troops pursued them, slaughtering and plundering as they went. The Sultân destroyed their temples and places of worship erecting *masjids* in their place. From there the Sultân turned towards Marmat^c and put to the sword the inhabitants of that district also, and plundered and devastated the country. He then returned to the capital and busied himself in the affairs of government.

After a short time the idea of eradicating idolatry again entered his mind and he ordered an army to be assembled. Accordingly such an army presented itself before the door of the court that the muster master was unequal to the task of computing its numbers. With this army the Sultân marched from his capital and

^c It is not stated what part of the country this was

^c Not identified

proceeded against the country of Tilang (Telangana) When the report of his approach reached the infidels of that country, wishing their hands of life, they crept into their forts and bye paths. The Sultan penetrated to the farthest limits of Tilang (Telangana) and took the fortresses of Mandal⁶ and Warangal which are among the principal forts of that country. He devastated the whole country and levelled the idol temples with the ground, plundered the dwelling places and freed the face of the earth from the impurity of the existence of the troops of devils and accursed infidels. The Rays of Derakonda and Raykondâ being afraid to meet the attack of the victorious army, sent to the Sultan ambassadors understanding the language and tendered their submission, and sending numerous and valuable presents to the court, agreed to pay tribute. The Sultan showed them mercy and returned to the seat of government, Muhammadîd Ildâr (sic), where he spent his time in administering justice and building cities and towns.

A year afterwards he conceived the idea of taking the fortress of Mâhûr which is one of the greatest and strongest forts of the kingdom of the Dâkhân. Accordingly with a large army he marched towards the above mentioned fortress. The army seized the country surrounding it, and making the fortress the centre of a circle, slaughtered and pillaged all round, and burned the harvest of life of the infidels of that country, and sweeping with the broom of plunder the permanent homes of the idols, seized whatever moveable and immovable effects they could lay their hands upon.

After the siege had continued a long time the Sultan thought it advisable to return to the capital, and in the following year, after the troops had rested and the cavalry horses become fat, to make a rapid plundering expedition against the people of that fortress, accordingly he marched back to Muhammadâbâd Bidar (sic).

After the lapse of a year the idea of eradicating the heretics again entered the mind of the Sultan, and he determined upon a jihad, so, with a large army he set out on the march for the fort of Mâhûr. The infidels of those parts having shut themselves up

⁶ Not identified. Possibly Ailgawal or Malangur is meant, both N W of Warangal.

in the narrow parts of the fortress closed upon themselves the doors of ingress and egress.

The Sultan ordered his troops from all sides of the fortress to strive their utmost to take it by assault. According to his orders the brave troops with bows and arrows, swords and spears fought bravely, and by the help of God and the good fortune of Ahmad, the troops by the strength of their manly arms took the fortress, one so strong that no king had previously been able to conquer it and opening their hands to slaughter and plunder, swept the whole fort with the broom of spoliation.

From that place the Sultan hastened to the fort of Kalam which he took by one gallant assault, and put the inhabitants to the sword. So in one expedition the Sultan took two forts which no king had ever before been able to conquer. He levelled with the ground all the idol temples and infidel buildings of that country, erecting in their places *mosques* and monasteries of the true believers and after that returned to Bidar with immense booty.

After these victories the Sultan despatched Khalf Hasan — who had been given the title of *Malik-ul Tijar* — with an army of brave and experienced men to the Konkan. Khalf Hasan went into the country of Konkan and the sea coast, and extirpated root and branch the dwelling places of the infidels, and in whatever direction he heard of any infidels, he proceeded against them, and cleansed the earth from the impurity of their existence, till having taken many forts and towns of that country he greatly enhanced his reputation. The Sultan's regard for him daily increased and he loaded him with favours, but this excited the jealousy of the people of the Dakhan, and they were always at enmity with him, yet, owing to Khalf Hasan's past services and the Sultan's favour, as proved by the daily increasing good fortune of the former, they had no power to injure him.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan conceived the idea of exterminating the infidels of the country of Vijayanagar and with this view he assembled an army. When the splendour of the royal victory denoting standard threw the rays of conquest round the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and cleared up that tract of country from the darkness of error and infidelity, the brave soldiers of the conquering army, opening the land of domination and lordship to

slaughter and plunder, took many of the forts and towns of that district, and an enormous amount of booty, prisoners of war, horses and elephants. After devastating the country of the infidels far and wide the Sultan returned to his capital, Muhammadabad Bidar.

At this time a petition reached the Sultan from Narsing Raya, governor of the fort of Khêrlâ, expressing his obedience and submission, and asking the Sultân to come to his assistance.

The Sultân goes to the fort of Khêrlâ

Battle between Alp Khân, governor of Mâlwa and the royal army. Alp Khân is defeated.

When the Sultân became aware of the contents of Narsing Raya's letter he gave orders that an army should be assembled, and that from all parts of his dominions the nobles, ministers and generals with their followers should proceed to the royal court. The Sultan with a large army then set out for Khêrlâ but when he had encamped in that neighbourhood he was informed that Narsing Raya had broken faith with him and joining himself to Alp Khân who at that time was Wali of the country of Mâlwa,⁶⁰ had asked for his assistance, promising him a lak of rupees (*sikka*) if he would come to his frontiers, and Alp Khân, forgetting the rights of Islam and good faith proceeded to the assistance of those villains.

When Alp Khân with a large force arrived in the district of Khêrlâ, the Sultan saw that the most advisable course to pursue was to return two or three stages into his own dominions and then if Alp Khân, resolving to make war against Muslims, should also return, then the lives and property of Muslims would certainly be safe, and if, deceived by the persuasions of the devil, he should be audacious enough to invade the Dâkhan, he (the Sultan) might return and chastise him, and with the sword put such ideas out of the brain of that foolish one.

Accordingly having marched away from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Khêrlâ he turned towards his own country. When the ministers and generals became aware of the Sultân's (apparent)

⁶⁰ Alp Khân who assumed the title of Sultân Hâshang Chârl on his accession was the second king of the Gûri dynasty in Mâlwa — vide *Firishtah Briggs*, Vol IV p. 171 et seq.

Khêrlâ was the capital of Gondwân.

tumidity being ashamed of turning away from before the enemy they boldly represented that the return of the Sultan would assuredly give occasion for presumption on the part of the enemy they therefore recommended the Sultan to wait a little till they engaged in battle with Alp Khan to the best of their ability, and perhaps the enemy would be defeated

In spite of the strong representations of the nobles the Sultan paid no attention to them, but marched towards his own dominions, and when the news of his retreat reached Alp Khan he deemed it due to fear on the part of the Sultan, and hastened boldly in pursuit of him, so that as the royal camp used to march away from each halting place he used to arrive at it

When the Sultan had gone two or three stages into his own country, and ambassadors brought the news that Alp Khan was thus following the camp and was bent upon war with the army of Islam, the Sultan assembled the *sheiks* and learned men and asked them the following questions — “Whenever a Musalman king in aiding infidels makes war against Musalmâns, is it deemed lawful according to the *shar’a* to fight against him?”

The learned men were unanimous in saying — “From all past times repelling the allies of infidels has been considered the same as a religious war, and is incumbent upon all, just as much as reinforcing and aiding the true believers”

The Sultan having thus obtained a legal decision from the learned men of Islam he turned towards the nobles and generals and said — “My motive in retreating was this Alp Khan is a Musalman king, and to us who profess Islam it is not allowable to initiate war, moreover he who does so incurs the reproach of God, according to the saying, ‘The curse of God is on those who awaken sleeping discord,’ we therefore marched towards our own country in order that if Alp Khan should enter our territory we should not be the instigator of war with him, but now that he has had the presumption to invade our territory it behoves us to chastise him”

The Sultan then turning to his troops encouraged them to fight bravely, and led them to expect increase of rank. The royal army being arrayed with the utmost quiet unfurled the standard of valour, and the various regiments were formed up facing the

enemy. The Sultan in person having selected from the midst of the army 2,500 cavalry clad in steel armour and armed with lances took post on one flank. When the ranks of the two hostile armies were drawn up the customs of courtesy and mercy being discarded they fell upon one another with sword, battle axe and arrow, and strife and slaughter blazed up like a fire, only to be extinguished by the swords of the warriors. The battle lasted from morning till evening and the heavens were obscured by the dust. At last the Sultan with those 2,500 lancers which he had with him fell upon the enemy like a thunder cloud. Alp Khān, in spite of all his endeavours was unable to shake them, and finally, turning his back on the battle took to flight, and leaving all his baggage, court tent walls,⁶ his *haram* retinue and whatever is necessary, more or less for kings, fled for his life. The royal troops having seized the whole of the stores, tents, pavilions, horses and elephants of Alp Khān and his troops collected them at the court of the Sultan who divided the booty among his troops and forbade their pursuing Alp Khān. He sent the whole of Alp Khān's *haram* in travelling litters and *landis* by the road they had come, together with their eunuchs and ordered 500 cavalry to escort them to the frontier and hand them over to Alp Khān's people, and to protect them from any molestation by the soldiery. This action of his is a manifest sign of his generosity and magnificence.

The Sultan having taken possession of Narsīn's territory as far as the town of Māhūr assigned it on feudal tenure to Prince Mahmūd Khān, who was his middlemost son, and until Mahmūd Khān was imprisoned for life this tenure remained unchanged.

After the Sultan had finished the settlement of Alp Khān's affairs he returned in triumph to his capital.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan sent a messenger with many valuable gifts to the presence of his spiritual guide — the synop¹⁴ of persons of merit, pattern to his peers, king of the teachers of truth, prince of holy men, essence of the descendants of the head of the apostles — Shāh Nūr-ud Dīn Nī'mat-Ullāh Wall (may God sanctify his beloved grave¹), asking him to send to this country one of the glorious descendants of that guide to the way of truth and in this matter solicited and urged much.

⁶ *Sard porjah* — a wall of canvas surrounding a cluster of tents

His Highness having no other fruit in the garden or his intention ~~Shah Khalil-Ullah~~ (to far separate himself from whom was inconvenient) he sent to the Dakhan a fresh flower from the rose-garden of sincere friendliness, Mirza Nur-Ullah, son of Shah Khalil Ullah Wali, according to the urgent request of the Sultan and in the year 843 (A. D. 1439)⁶⁵ when Shah Nur-ud-Din Ni mat Ullah Wali died, Shah Khalil Ullah also proceeded to the Dakhan. The Sultan received Mirza Nur-Ullah with the utmost respect and reverence, and exalted him above all the *sayyids*, *sheliks* and learned men of the Dakhan, and when Shah Khalil-Ullah arrived there his son, Nur-Ullah, died.

Disagreement between Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat.

It has already been mentioned that the Sultan had sent Khalif Ha-in Malik-ut-Tijir to take possession of the Konkan and the forts and hills of that country. When Khalif entered that territory, having conquered all the forts, towns, sea coast and hills, he made an incursion into the island of Mahâim (Bombay) which is within the territory of Gujarat, and conquered that country also, upon which the inhabitants of Mahâim complained to Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat. The latter being jealous at this, appointed his own son and successor, named Muhammad Shah, to put down the rebellion of Khalif. The Sultan on being informed of the approach of the Gujarat army despatched Prince Zafar Khan — who was his heir apparent, and who during the Sultan's reign received the title of Sultan 'Alî-ud Dîn (as will be mentioned in due course) — with a large force to the assistance of the brave Khalif Malik ut-Tijir.

Prince Zafar Khan with his army in due time encamped on the shore of the creek (*khalij*) of the island of Mahâim, and Muhammad Shah with the Gujarat army encamped on the further side of the creek and for some time the two armies remained facing one another, and all day long, prepared for battle, they used to come to the shore and stand facing one another, but neither of them had the boldness to cross the creek. When this had lasted for some time the Dakhani nobles moved by jealousy which is inevi-

⁶⁵ According to Firishtah he died in A. H. 831 (A. D. 1431) — vide Briggs Vol II, p. 41

table towards foreigners, represented to Prince Zafar Khan —“ We do all the fighting and killing but Khalf Hasan will get the credit of it’ The prince being still in the flower of youth did not perceive the perfidy and evil inspirations of those deceitful Dakhanî amîrs who with insidious arguments convinced the hapless prince In a most shameful and dishonourable manner they left Khalf in the lurch and earned for themselves an evil reputation in the world

When the Gujarât army obtained information of this dispute, confident of victory, they fell upon Khalf Hasan The latter, without allies, being unable to oppose a large army, left Mahâ im, and the Gujarât army plundered all his baggage and took prisoner Khalf’s brother, Husain bin Hasan, and then turned towards Gujarât

Sultan Ahmad Shah proceeds to take vengeance on the Gujarât army

When the news of this affair reached the Sultan, being determined to avenge himself on the enemy, he summoned his army, and in obedience to his orders from the districts, forts, cities and feudal lands the nobles and chiefs of the victorious army set out for the capital Bidar, and in a short time so large a force assembled at the door of the court that the east and west winds were shut out The Sultan holding out to his army hopes of reward, at an auspicious time unfurled the royal standard and set out for the frontier of Gujarât In due time he encamped within sight of the fort of Bahûl,⁶⁹ situate on the frontier between the Dakhan and Gujarât, and laid siege to it The governor of the fort of Bahul, who was an infidel, aided by the strength of the fortress, and hopeful of the protection of Sultân Ahmad of Gujarat—because the fort from time immemorial had been in subjection to the rulers of that country—sent a letter to Sultan Ahmad Gujarati informing him that the Sultân of the Dakhan was on his way to Gujarat In a state of despair he also informed him about the siege of the fortress, and assured him that if he (the Sultân of Gujarat) would free him from this difficult affair he would annually pay a large sum into the royal treasury

⁶⁹ Or Bahol or Bhol or Bhûl Distinctly written جہول in the text But a reference to the Gujarât history shows that it was Batnol now called Tambol, a hill fort in Khândesh—*cfr* Bayley’s *Gujarât* p 100 n, and pp 118 120

In consequence of this Sultân Almad Gujrâtî, with the intention of assisting the infidels of Bahûl, set out with an immense army, and in one stage arrived at that fortress. When the (Bahmanî) Sultân obtained information of the arrival of enemies he raised the siege and went out in all haste to meet his adversary. Both forces having reached the banks of the river⁷⁰ alighted opposite to one another, so that there was only the breadth of the above-mentioned river between the two armies. Every day the two forces drawn up in battle array stood opposite one another, but, however much the troops of both sides endeavoured to cross the river and engage in battle, neither side gave any facility for so doing, and being unwilling to shed Musalmân blood the troops neglected to fight, so that for nearly a year those two armies were seated opposite one another, and neither of the two would begin the battle. When the time became very protracted the theologians and learned men from both sides intervened and with the limpid water of exhortations and advice extinguished the fire of battle which had been kindled, and laid the foundations of reconciliation. It was settled that the fort of Bahul, which from ancient times had been in Gujrat, should still remain in possession of the agents of that kingdom, and on this side whatever pertained to the servants of the Bahmanî court should remain so. After some days the bonds of mutual friendship and agreement were arranged between the two kings, and their animosity being brought to an end an offensive and defensive alliance was arranged, and it was agreed that they should not fail to exalt the standards of Islâm and break down the rites of the heretics.

The two kings having agreed to all these terms of peace sent one another many valuable presents, and for nearly a hundred years the foundations of unmixed friendship remained firm between the kings of these two countries and they continually sent presents to one another, as will be related hereafter.

After this reconciliation the Sultân returned to his capital and looked after the comfort of his subjects and army, and far and near overthrew the customs of heresy and impiety. He promoted in office and rank each of the *amîrs* and ministers of state. Muhammad bin 'Alî Bâwardî, who was one of the descendants of

⁷⁰ Probably the river Taptî.

Sultân Sanjar Saljuki, received the title of Khwajali Jahân; and the commander of the left wing of the army⁷¹ being promoted to the command of the right wing⁷² the Sultân exalted him with the title of Malâ Khân, and on the commander of the right wing he conferred the title of Sarang Khân. Shîr Malik became Kotwal of Dadbak (?), and Shîr Khân, son of the Sultan's sister, who had been the cause of the assassination of Sultân Firûz, met with the same fate as the latter. Mîrzâ Nur-Ullâh — grandson of Shâh Nî'mat Ullah — obtained the title of Malik ul Mushâ'ikh⁷³ and Kâzî Ahmad Kabul became Malik ul-'Ullamâ⁷⁴ and Sadr-i Jahân, and Kâzî Nizam-ud Dîn Sharifi — grandson of Saiyid Sharif — was exalted to the title of Sharaf-i Jahân, and Saiyid Abd ul Mâ'mûn — grandson of Saiyid Jalâl Bukhârî — became entitled Saiyid Ajal Jalâl Khân.

In the midst of these affairs arrived news of the death of Shâh Nî'mat-Ullah, and the Sultân was much distressed thereby. According to the custom of India he instituted a fair to be held in his honour at his (the saint's) tomb. He assembled all the *saiyids* and theologians, *shel'hs* and darvishes and waited on them himself: the king with his own blessed hand poured water on the hands of the *saiyids* and *shel'hs*, and exalting Malik-ul-Mushâ'ikh Mîrzâ Nûr Ullâh above all the nobles and chiefs, stretched out the hand of two fold friendship to that family, and the same liberality which Sultân Ahmad Shâh showed towards the sons of Shâh Nûr ud Dîn Nî'mat Ullâh was also extended to the descendants of the saint, and each member of that illustrious dynasty who ascended the throne used to unite in marriage a princess with one of the descendants of Nî'mat Ullah.

After these occurrences a dispute once more arose with the Wâlî of Mandû about the fort of Khêrlâ. At last after much disputing and fighting peace was established and the above mentioned fort was restored to the Wâlî of Mandû, and it was agreed that the country on this side of the fort should be in the Sultan's dominions. This stipulation was confirmed on both sides, allowing no deviation from the highway of sincerity and agreement. After that, each of

⁷¹ Sar-naubat : Malsarah

⁷² King of the *Shel'hs*

⁷³ Sar-naubat : Malsarah.

⁷⁴ Prince or king of the Theologians

the sovereigns marched to his own capital, but the mutual friendship established between them was not of the same quality as that which existed between the Bahmanî and Gujrâtî Sultâns as will afterwards be related

The Sultân proceeds to take several forts and towns

When in the latter days of the late king, Firûz Shah, on account of the weakness which arose in the affairs of the country owing to the frequent wars, the disobedient and rebellious of all parts triumphing in the circumstance, and thinking it a favourable opportunity broke into rebellion and had retaken from the agents of government most of the forts and towns of the kingdom and its frontiers. When Sultân Ahmad Shâh ascended the throne, owing to the disputes which arose between him and the Sultâns of Gujrât and Malwâ, till those affairs were over he had not found leisure to retaliate on the rebellious ones in the various parts of the country and chastise the infidels. Moreover, while the Sultan was engaged in repelling his enemies the infidels, even without fighting, had succeeded in getting possession of various districts of Telingânâ. But now that the mind of the Sultân was entirely at rest from contention with the Sultâns of Gujrât and Malwâ, he turned his attention to the reconquest of those districts which had come into possession of the infidels, and having assembled a countless force he proceeded towards the country of Telingânâ

When the Sultân, spreading the wings of victory and conquest, threw the shadow of triumph over the regions of Telingânâ the people of some of those towns and forts, traversing the road of obedience and submission, made peace by agreeing to pay revenue as security for good behaviour, but some who having bound the fillet of opposition to lawful authority on the forehead of rebellion and impudence took the road of unbelief, were sent to the house of perdition by the blows of the death dealing swords of the troops. By the aid of God and the good fortune of the Sultan strong fortresses were taken the strongest of which was the fort of Râmgîr. This celebrated fortress, which in strength resembled Alexander's rampart, and all the other forts and strong fortresses of that district having been taken by the royal army the symbols of infidelity were overturned

The *vâlî* of the fort of Warangal, who was the most intelligent of the infidels of that country, saw that in whatever direction the

victorious army turned they levelled with the ground the forts and towns and used to plunder and devastate the country and eradicate the inhabitants, root and branch, so foreseeing and dreading the attack of the royal army, he sent a deputation of his chief men to the foot of the throne, and by the interest of the confidential servants of the court, represented his readiness to submit to the Sultan's authority and to pay tribute if his offences were pardoned. The Sultan in his mercy pardoned the inhabitants of the fort, and after taking security prohibited his troops from plundering it.

The Sultan was for a long time engaged in reducing Telingāna and conquering the districts in possession of the infidels. Some who humbly submitted to his rule and agreed to pay tribute he confirmed in possession of their districts. Having made Ibrahim Sanjar Khan head of the army, he sent him in command of a division to conquer that country and conciliate the people, and conferred on him as a *yāgir* the fort of Bhonāgir and several districts.

After that the Sultan returned to his capital and resigned the affairs of government into the hands of Miyan Mahmud Nizām-ul-Mulk, who was the wisest man of his age, unequalled in learning and one of the descendants of the illustrious *shekh*, *Shekh* Farid Shakar-bir,⁷⁵ and he consigned to *Khalif* Hasan the port of Dhabol and all the ports on the coast.

In this year the Sultan in the interior of the fort of Muhammadābad Bidar laid the foundation of a palace and portico (*pishgāh*) of extraordinary height and beauty.⁷⁶ When he had completed the building *Shokh* Azari — owing to the perfection of whose fame it is unnecessary to speak in terms of praise — visited the Sultan's court and composed two verses in eulogy of this palace and the Sultan was so pleased that he presented him with 700,000 *Dakhanī tankah*, which may be equivalent to about 1,000 *taman*,⁷⁷ upon which *Shekh* Azari said —

⁷⁵ *Shakar bir* = raining sweetness, eloquent.

⁷⁶ The date of the building of the palace is not given. The description is so extremely hyperbolic in style that I shall not weary the reader by translating it.

⁷⁷ I have not been able to ascertain either the value or weight of the *Dakhanī tankah* or *Persian tūman* (or *tūmān*) of that period. The *tankah* was a copper coin, and the weight of 700,000 of them must have been very considerable.

"Our gifts can only be carried on beasts of burden" ⁹

The Sultan smiled, and added to his previous gift 20,000 more *tanlakh* for the expenses of his journey and the cost of carrying (the money). The *shelā*, after suitably thanking the Sultan for the abundance of his favours and kindness, agreeably to his desire, returned to his native country. By this generosity and kindness on the part of the Sultan he obliterated the names of the kings of the world from the register of the generous, and to the end of the world evoked the banner of his good reputation among the sons of man.

Maniānā Sharf-ud Din Māzandarāni, who was one of the disciples of Shih Ni'mat-Ullāh, inscribed in beautiful handwriting two verses on the door of the palace, and the Sultan presented to him also 12,000 *tanlakh*.

When the Sultan had reigned for a period of twelve years he resigned the crown and throne of sovereignty to the heir-apparent Prince Zafar *Khān*, who was the eldest of the Sultan's sons and adorned with the jewel of knowledge and generosity and the ornament of mildness and bravery, and all the nobles, ministers and generals pledged their fealty to him.

After that the Sultan divided the country of Hindūstān among his sons: the district of Mahūr with its dependencies he settled on Prince Mahmūd *Khān*¹⁰ and Rājchur and Ghul (?)¹¹ with their dependencies on Daūd *Khān*.

In the meantime the Sultan fell into a bad state of health, and in spite of the remedies of the physicians his illness duly increased till he died on the 25th or 26th of Rajab, A. H. 838 (24th or 25th February, A. D. 1435).

لَا يَحْتَمِلُ عِظَانَاكُمْ إِلَّا عِظَانَاكُمْ ¹²

¹² Shekh Āzari died at Asfarshayn a city of Khorāsān in A. H. 866 (A. D. 1461) at the age of eighty-two. The following chronogram records the date of his death —

دربغا آذری شمع زمانه که مصباح حیاتش کشت، بپوشو
چو او ثانی خسرو بود در شعر ارکان تاریخ فویش کتب خسرو

Alas for Āzari Shekh of his days

The light of his life is shorn of its rays

Being *Khusrau* the second in poetry

In *KHUSRAU* the date of his death you will see

¹⁰ Or Mohammad *Khān* (?) — vide p. 143 n

¹¹ Not identified

Account of some of the Good Qualities
of Sultân Ahmad Shâh

The learned have recorded that he was a king renowned for his many good qualities and justice and piety. His disposition was adorned with the ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of abstinence and devotion * * *

In generosity he carried off the palm from all the kings of the world, as has been recorded in the following verses by Sheikh Âzari, who has been formerly mentioned

* * * * *

An *amir* named Shîr Malîk a celebrated noble of high rank and who had the management of most of the important affairs of government having gone to take one of the forts of the infidels took the strong fortress, and with much booty and countless horses and elephants, was returning in triumph to the royal court. Sayyid Nasir-ud Din, who was by birth one of the true *sayyids*, an Arab, had been honoured by being presented to the Sultan and had received various honours and presents, and the Sultan having given him a large sum of money for the construction of an aqueduct to carry water into Karbalâ, had dismissed him. On his way the *sayyid* happened to pass through the camp of Shîr Malîk and did not salute the latter in the usual ceremonious manner. Shîr Malîk from the pride which he possessed, becoming like a furious lion, ordered the *sayyid* to be dragged to the ground from his saddle. The *sayyid* in his indignation and wrath returned to the Sultan's court, and made the following representation — "On account of the faith and friendship which, as is well known, the Sultan of the World entertains in regard to my family, I have travelled to this country, leaving the sacred places and tombs of fathers and ancestors the society of companions and friends, and regardless of attachment to my mother country, which is beyond the power of imagination. The result of the love and reverence for the Prophet Muhammad is only this that a descendant of that holy personage is dragged from his horse to the ground this disgrace and baseness has been inflicted on the *sayyids*."

The Sultan was much affected by this speech and showing much kindness and consideration towards the *sayyid*, strove his

utmost but valuable presents to soothe his feelings, and then sent him on his intended journey.

When Shîr Malik arrived near the seat of government the nobles and ministers of state went out to meet him, and showing him the greatest honour brought him to the court. When the eve of the Sultân fell on him the fire of his wrath was kindled and blazed up. He ordered the elephant called 'Kassâb' (the butcher) to be brought. The lookers on were amazed at this, and from fear of the king's anger trembling seized their limbs, and they said to themselves — "Notwithstanding such valuable services and such gallantry on the part of Shîr Malik, to kill him and throw him under the feet of an elephant is far from the Sultân's usual kindness and gratitude." But no one had the courage to say anything till the elephant-keeper brought the appointed elephant when the Sultân, without giving Shîr Malik an opportunity of saying a word, ordered him to be thrown under the elephant's feet. The Sultân then said — "Thus only can insult to descendants of the Prophet be suitably requited, and the protection of Islam is incumbent upon all."

The Sultan's age was between 60 and 70, and he reigned for a period of 12 years, 9 months and 24 days,⁸² but God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters.

Note to Chapter IX.

[The following brief account of the reign of Sultân Ahmad is taken from the *Tazkirat ul Muluk*]

Reign of Sultân Ahmad Wali Shâh Bahmani in the city of Muhammadâbâd, which is now known as the City of Bidar

After the murder of Sultan Firûz, Sultan Ahmad ascended the throne

One day when he went out hunting in the neighbourhood of Muhammadâbâd a dog seized a hare by the tail. The hare turned round and fighting with the dog, overcame him. Sultân Ahmad on seeing this said — "The climate of this country seems to be conducive to bravery, seeing that a hare beats a dog. If I should

⁸² This period added to the date of his accession (11th Shawwâl 825) would make his reign terminate on the 5th Sha'bân 838 (6th March 1431). According to Firishtah he reigned 12 years and 3 months.

found a city here and make it my capital, the men who shall be born here and grow and thrive in the climate of this region will certainly be braver and more manly'.³³ Besides, in the city of Ahsanābid the Sultān had his moriāge, and it was not a fortunate place for his capital. For this reason, in a propitious hour, he laid the foundation stone of the city of Muḥammadābid and in a short time he approved of its completion, and he passed the period of his life in that city in pleasure and the gratification of his desires.

During his reign Makhdūm Khwājah Jahān came from Khurasān for the purpose of trading, and showing great ability in political affairs he served four Bahmanī kings always faithfully and with good will, till in the latter end of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn, he suffered martyrdom, and left behind him a good reputation in the world.³⁴

Sultan Ahmad ascended the throne in A. H. 850 (A. D. 1426), and in the same year founded the city of Muḥammadābid, and for twelve years, nine months and twenty-four days lived in peace and happiness and with a good reputation. He died in A. H. 862 (A. D. 1438), but God only knows.

Khwājah Jahān comes to the Dakhan, enters the service of the kings and attains high distinction.

It is related that Makhdūm Khwājah Jahān was a wise, good and experienced man who chanced to arrive in the port of Dhābol, now known as Maimūn Mustafā, Abād, and the various kinds of people he saw there seemed to him wonderful and strange. One day in the *bāzār* he was sitting in the shop of a merchant, when the governor of the said port, with the utmost pomp and grandeur, passed through the *bāzār* seated on a throne (*singhāsān*) and playing with a *bulbul* which he had on his hand. The Khwājah was astonished at this circumstance, and said to himself:—“It is evident that the people of this country are simple minded and playful: one might pass one's life very pleasantly among such

³³ Compare *Durhān-i Maḥṣūr*, Fol. 170a, I O MS. where the same story is told of Ahmad Nizām Shāh the founder of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty and the city of Ahmadnagar.

³⁴ In the *Durhān-i Maḥṣūr* the first mention of Khwājah Jahān is in the reign of Humāyūn.

people and find much enjoyment in their society, and attain high dignity.' He then wished to proceed to the seat of government at Bidar, but Sultân Ahmad had given orders that any foreigners or foreign merchants, from wherever they might come, should transact their business at the port of their arrival and were not to be permitted to proceed to the court. Khwajah Jahan therefore waited on the governor of the port with valuable presents, and begged permission to proceed to the seat of government. The governor explained the above-mentioned excuses for refusing his request. The Khwajah said — "I have travelled in many countries, such as Rum, Syria, Egypt, Khurasan, Turkistan, etc. I have travelled through all these countries, and collected in them rarities of various kinds fit for kings, and it would be a pity if the king should not see them." He added — "I have written on the subject to the king and the ministers of state, and am sending them various presents. I will also write a few words to the ministers of state and perhaps my business may thus be brought to a successful issue." The governor of the port wrote a letter to the king through the ministers of state. The petition of the Khwajah reached the ministers, and when they became acquainted with its contents they joined in presenting it to Sultân Ahmad, but he was not at all willing to let the Khwajah come, and said — "These intelligent foreigners are ingenious and would soon deceive people. If this man came here he would in a short time attain authority and power, which would be displeasing to all of you." The ministers replied — "What harm can one man, a merchant, do? We shall see what manner of man he is, and whether he is fit for service. If he be not deserving it will only be for a short time, his business will soon be concluded and we can dismiss him." As the ministers were pressing in this matter the Sultân gave his consent, and after some days the Khwajah arrived with his goods in the city of Bidar, and visiting each of the ministers, explained the object of his coming. By their advice he presented as offerings to the king some Arabian horses, some silk and cloth, some Turki and Holushî slaves, several kinds of pearls and other valuable jewels and some beautifully written and highly ornamented copies of the Kurân. When he reached the court he took one of those Kurans on his head and placing the remainder on the heads of his slaves, entered the presence. When the king was informed that what they carried on their heads were Kurans he involuntarily arose from his throne,

and taking the *Kurān* which the *Khawājāh* had on his head, put it on a corner of his throne, and turning towards the ministers of state said — “The *Khawājāh* even in the court has given orders to me, since in order to do honour to the word of God he has brought me off my throne it remains to be seen what he will do after this.” The king after inspecting the presents sent them into his palace, and then questioned the *Khawājāh* about the affairs of other kings, and the *Khawājāh* gave his answers in a pleasing narrative, and related various particulars about the manners and customs of other kingdoms. The king was astonished at what he related and pressed him to tell him more particulars. He was much pleased with the *Khawājāh*’s society and commanded him to visit him every day. He honoured the *Khawājāh* with several valuable presents and appointed a lofty and spacious dwelling for his residence. Like the other servants of the court the *Khawājāh* used to present himself at court daily, each time bringing some present with him, on which account the king’s favour and affection towards him daily increased, till he went so far as to consult the *Khawājāh* in matters pertaining to the government and finance, and the successful results of whatever he used to do by the advice and approval of the *Khawājāh* strengthened the king’s reliance upon him and caused the dignity and rank of the *Khawājāh* to be much increased. But in the meantime *Sultān Ahmad* died.

CHAPTER X.

Reign of *Sultān ‘Alī-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shāh*,
son of *Ahmad Shāh*.

AFTER the death of *Sultan Ahmad Shah*, with the concurrence and approval of the nobles and heads of the army, on Monday, the 22nd of the month *Rajāh* in the year 838 (21st February, A. D. 1435) *Sultān ‘Alī-ud-Dīn* ascended the throne, and, according to the custom of kings, the great *sayyids shēhīs*, and learned men being present at the time of the sovereign’s taking his seat on the royal throne, his highness *Malik al Mashāikh Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Khān-Ullāh*, son of *Shāh Nur-ud-Dīn Nūrmat Ullāh Wālī*, who was the religious instructor of this king and son of the spiritual adviser of the late *Sultān*, took hold of the *Sultān’s* right hand, and *Sayyid Khasif* taking his left hand, they seated him on the throne, and the nobles and grandees scattered money. The

Sultan placing two chairs, one on each side of the throne for the two illustrious fortunate ones, they were seated on his right and left, and the other *sajids* and learned men — such as Malik ul 'Ulum, Kazi Ahmad Kabuli Sadar, Jahan and Sadar ul 'Ulum, Kazi Nizam ud Din Sharifi Sharf, Jahan and Malik u Mudarrisin². Sayid Ahmad Jurjani obtained permission to sit at the foot of the throne. The courtiers congratulated the Sultan on his accession, and in eloquent language sang his praises and each one according to his rank and station received robes of honour and other gifts. Poets recited elegant congratulatory verses and were rewarded by kingly gifts.

When by common consent Sultan 'Ala ud Din succeeded to the absolute sovereignty of the Dakhlan by hereditary right and desert he regulated in such a manner the distribution of justice and the erection of the structure of equity that the impression of the heretofore of Faridun was eclipsed, and Nanshurawan's fame to justice was powerless to compete with it.

On Fridays and festival days he used himself to ascend the pulpit and read a *Lahzih* in extremely eloquent language. Owing to his excessive mildness and mercy he was averse to the shedding of blood or hanging, and he generally spent the happy hours in playing and toying and pleasure and mirth and the society of rosy-cheeked, sugar-lipped fair ones and youths with cypress like stature and silvery forms. From sociableness and excess of hankering after this class of people he used not to attend to state affairs as much as he ought, and from want of attention to the important affairs of government the affairs of the kingdom continually fell into commotion and confusion, and his subjects became disgusted as will be shown hereafter.

* * * * *

Sultan 'Ala ud Din in the early part of his reign dismissed several of the *amirs*, ministers of state and inferior officers of government, and appointed a number of others in their places thus Miyau Mahmud Nizam ul Mulk Ahmad Shahi was dismissed from his government and put to death. Kawam ul Mulk Ghuri received the title of Nizam ul Mulk, and his son became Kawam ul Mulk. Muhammad bin 'Ali Bawardi — who was

Khwājah Jahān — and the other nobles and ministers were confirmed in the titles and appointments which they already held

The Sultan appointed two of his own slaves commanders of the right and left wings of the army. The command of the left wing — by the custom of the late Sultan — was given the preference over all the dignities of the right wing, and **Malū Khān** had been appointed to it, and **Suang Khān** to the command of the right wing.⁶⁶ The descendants of **Malik Mahmūd Afghān**, amīl of the district of **Halkundrah** were advanced to very high rank — thus **Malik 'Imīd ul Mulk** obtained **Mubārak ibīd Mirāj** on feudal tenure and another of that clique obtained the title of **Mu'azzam Khān**, and the district of **Biḡpūr** was assigned to him on feudal tenure. **Mushir ul Mulk Afghān** took on feudal tenure **Halāngī** which is a *taraf* of **Biḡpūr**, and the greatest of them received the title of **Majlis Akīm Dilmar Khān**, and was promoted to a government.

In the beginning of his reign the Sultan constructed a garden and palace named **Nīmatabād** on the bank of the river. In that Paradise like garden and palace, which was distant about one *farsakh*⁶⁷ from the capital, the Sultan took up his abode, and reclining on the *masnad* of pleasure and delight he employed himself in drinking cups of ruby coloured wine and enjoying himself with ruby lipped, heart ravishing (females) and in listening to the melodies of sweet tongued musicians.

The nobles and great men used every day to perambulate the sanctuary of that *ka'bah* with their business unattended to. Moreover, many of the courtiers, nobles and generals built houses for themselves in the neighbourhood of that lofty building, and took up their abode there, so that they might often have the honour of an audience.

At this time **Sanjar Khān**, who was one of the greatest of the Sultan's nobles, in accordance with orders was engaged in fighting against the Urah leader of the infidels of **Telingāna**,⁶⁸ and used constantly to take as prisoners the cursed people of that district, and used to send them to court, and the Sultan after confirming them in the faith of Islam sent them on to Prince

⁶⁶ Vide page 117

⁶⁷ About 6 000 yards

Humayūn Khar who was the eldest of his sons. By the aid of God many of these wanderers in the desert of error and ignorance were led to the pleasant fountain of the right road and by the light of Islam the darkness of infidelity was expelled from their hearts and two of them were promoted to the rank of *amir* and *warir*. The Sultan himself used often to say — 'Why does Sanjar Khan match himself in battle against the possessors of elephants? For at that time in the government of the Bahmani Sultans there were not more than about one hundred and fifty elephants whilst those infidels had nearly two hundred thousand. Notwithstanding this the gallant Sanjar Khan was continually plundering their country and used not to fail in killing and imprisoning the worshippers of idols.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan sent Dilawar Khan Afghani with a large force to take the entrenchment and fort of Shurkah⁸³. He accordingly set out with his force, and having arrived at those frontiers, after some parleying and fighting settled matters peaceably, and taking an immense amount of valuable property for the government from the chief of each of the two districts, returned to court. But when he went to pay his respects to the Sultan he was dismissed from his government, and a eunuch who had recently received the title of *Dastur ul Mulk* was appointed in his place. The people of the Dakhn being much distressed by the tyranny and oppression of that nottrustworthy one used to complain of him day and night at the court but the Sultan, from the extreme mildness of his disposition, used to wink at it and do nothing to check his oppression of inferiors. But Prince Humayun Khan, from his innate mercy, out of kindness ordered one of his attendants to watch for an opportunity to free the people from the oppression of that molated one.

In this year Nasir Khan,⁸⁴ Wāli of Aṣir, conceived the idea of conquering the Sultan's dominions, and notwithstanding the long-established friendship and agreement between them he invaded the Bahmani territory and began to plunder and devastate. The Sultan on hearing that Nasir Khan with a large army had invaded his territory and laid waste several villages on the frontier

⁸³ Not identified. Perhaps it is the name of the renegade chief called Sirkah a little farther on.

⁸⁴ Ruler of Khandsesh and father in law of the Sultan.

proposed to each one of his nobles to fight against Nasir Khan, but none of them would undertake it. At last he summoned Khalf Malik-ut-Tijar and nominated him for this business. Khalf without delay or thought consented, and applied himself to the task of putting down Nasir Khin's rebellion. The Sultan conferred many favours and benefits on Khalf, and presenting him with his own special robe gave into his hands a naked sword with a golden inscription on it. Khalf took leave of the Sultan and set out without even first going to his own house.

When the news of the approach of Khalf Malik ut Tijar with a numerous force of spearmen reached Nasir Khân, he did not think it advisable to remain in the Sultan's territory, so he abandoned the vain expectations and desires which he had entertained and being unable to oppose himself to the royal army, as a last resource he took to flight and shut himself up in the fortress of Asir.¹⁰ Khalf Malik ut Tijar pursuing him reached the neighbourhood of the fortress, and surrounding it laid siege to it. This continued for a long time till at last the distracted life of Nasir Khân, by order of the Almighty, becoming a captive in the claws of fate the bird of his spirit flew off from the narrow fastness of his body towards its native country. This event happened in A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435).

After this Khalf Malik ut Tijar returned with much booty to the court and paid his respects to the Sultan.

Rebellion of Muhammad Khân, the Sultan's brother.

The Sultan proceeds to put it down

In this year, by the suggestion of the wicked devil of seduction, the idea of rebellion and ingratitude having obtained a hold on the heart of Muhammad Khân,¹¹ the younger brother of the Sultan, he turned the reins of opposition towards the desert of error, and after killing 'Imad ul Mulk Ghûri on the bank of the river Pen Gangi he raised aloft the canopy of sovereignty and the banner of pomp, and requited the affection and favours of the Sultan by rebellion.

¹⁰ A play on words — اسیر حصار انیر کردند

¹¹ This appears to be the same as Prince Mahmûd Khân who was appointed governor of the Mahûr district by the late Sultan. The names Mahmûl and Muhammad are often confounded. The river called Gan (or Kan) in the text must be the Pen Gangâ, which flows past MAHûr.

When the king became aware of the movements of Muhammad Khân he collected a large army and set out from the seat of government to suppress the rebellion.

On the other hand Muhammad Khân also assembled a large force and hastened to oppose him. After encountering one another the fire of slaughter was kindled on both sides, and extended to Āsir, and owing to the bodies of those slain on both sides the road became so blocked that the east and west winds were shut out. At last victory declared itself on the side of the Sultān, and the army of Muhammad Khân was routed; the latter, finding that fortune had turned against him, took to flight. The Sultān ordered a number of his troops to go in pursuit of Muhammad Khân, but gave strict injunctions not to injure him personally and if they caught him, to bring him without using violence to the foot of the throne, and if not, to let him go. But Muhammad Khân having escaped with his life from this affair repented of that improper action which had emanated from the suggestions of the devil, and sent an eloquent messenger to the Sultān to sue for pardon. The Sultān graciously forgave his past offences and caused a treaty to be drawn up assigning to him on feudal tenure the district of Bāyachal in Telingānā, and sent him the royal diploma of the jāgīr together with the treaty. Muhammad Khân, conciliated and made happy by the favour and kindness of the Sultān, proceeded to his own districts and did not again swerve from the path of obedience and submission.

During the time of Muhammad Khân's rebellion the infidels of Vijayanagar, thinking it a good opportunity, had invaded the territories of Islām, and taken possession of the fort of Mudgal, and devastated all the surrounding country, so, after suppressing the rebellion of Muhammad Khân, the Sultān, in retaliation, proceeded with a large force towards the Vijayanagar territory.

When the news of his approach reached the ruler of Vijayanagar he fortified himself in the fortress of Mudgal, which is one of the strongest forts of that country, and having filled that strong fortress with his choicest veteran troops he made ready for battle. The Sultān pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Mudgal, and his troops formed a cordon round it. After the siege had lasted for some time signs of weakness and despondency being

apparent on the side of the defenders of the fort, they sued for quarter and agreeing to give security, sent messengers to the court of the Sultan professing obedience and submission. They agreed to pay tribute besides paying a large sum into the royal treasury also to pay compensation for any injury inflicted on the Sultan's subjects, and in future never to presume to invade the Sultan's territory and each year to remit a certain sum to the royal treasury. After that, the Sultan having effected his object returned to his capital.

In several histories it is stated that Sultan 'Ala-ud Din remained nearly two years on this journey, and waged a *jihād* against the infidels of those countries. The forts of Mudgal, Chandan Wandhan and Satara besides many other fortresses and walled towns (*bārah*) fell into the possession of the Sultan's army, and *after successfully accomplishing his desires he returned to his capital.*

After he had finished suppressing the sedition of rebels and killing and plundering the idol worshippers he spent his time in pleasure and enjoyment in gay society.

In the midst of these affairs His Highness Malik-ul Mushāfikh Shāh Khali-Ullah bin Shāh Nur ul Din Nirmat-Ullah died. This illustrious man of high origin left two sons — one of them — Shāh Habib-Ullah — was son in law of Sultan Ahmad Shah, and the other — Shāh Muhabb-Ullah — was son in law of Sultan 'Ala ud Din the latter having given him his eldest daughter in marriage.

Massacre of Saiyids in the fort of Chākanah (Chākan).

In this year (858 = A D 1454) Khalf Hasan contemplated the conquest of Sankisar (Sangameshvar) which is one of the greatest of the forts on the sea coast, his reason being that a great number of infidels under the protection of this strong fortress, and relying upon the thick jungle and difficult obscure places used to engage in highway-robbery by sea as well as by land, and on account of the wickedness of these Musalmāns passing to and from used to be in a continual state of terror.

Khalf Malik ut-Tijār first laid siege to and took the fortress of an infidel who was called Sirkanh, and the cursed Sirkanh, who had been made prisoner by the army of Ishm was given the option of embracing the faith of Islam or being sent to hell. The accursed one

having come into the Faith by the door of pretext and duplicity voluntarily made the following proposal — “I have always been familiar with this mountainous and forest-covered district of Sangamshvar, and now that I have embraced the Faith of Islām, to protect any longer the professors of paganism and infidelity would be *unathemumaranatha* to me. If you will proceed in that direction that fortress also will easily fall into your hands, especially as I shall be in close attendance on you, and the difficulties of the road and the intricacies of the jungle will be no obstacle to you, for I shall lead your force to the foot of the fortress by such a road that they will experience no inconvenience, and you will attain the object of your desires

Khalf Hasan, deceived by the speech of his villainous enemy, taking him as guide of the vanguard of his force, proceeded in that direction. However much the army showed to Khalf the evil of that action, which was of answering regret, yet — according to the verse —

“When Fate hangs down its wing from heaven
All the sagacious become blind and deaf” —

the veil of predestination had hung down the curtain of negligence over his arrangements, and the speech of his monitors made no impression on him till the black-faced depraved guide took the army by a road, from terror of the ups and downs of which even the devil would have been confounded. At last they arrived at a place where from three sides lofty mountains reared their heads to the revolving heavens, and the depth of its valleys extended below the earth, the skirt of that mountain as well as the plain was filled with a jungle extremely difficult to pass through owing to the intricacy of the trees, and on one side of it was connected with an encircling sea creek. In this dreadful and deadly place nearly thirty or forty thousand cavalry and infantry were crowded together ready for battle, and to make matters worse Khalf Malik ut-Tijir was at that time afflicted with a dangerous illness so that he could scarcely move. In this state of affairs the infidels threw themselves on the army of Islām, and Khalf and a great number of sanyās and pious men suffered martyrdom. The remnant of the routed force, who with a hundred thousand difficulties escaped with their lives, hurried to the town of Chākan which was the permanent abode of Khalf, whilst the *amirs* of the Dakhan, who from olden times had been the deadly enemies of foreigners, picturing this affair in an infamous manner, reported it to the Sultan.

The latter on hearing their version, in his anger, without thinking of the perfidy of which he was guilty concurred with the base advice of the *wa-ís* that the remainder of the *sayyids* and foreigners should be put to death and by one wrong order uprooted the foundation of the lives of so many thousand foreigners and poor people and descendants of the chief of the Prophets

Rájá Rustam, who had the title of *Nizám ul Mulk*, and Sálar Hamzah who was *Mushir ul Mulk*, being in agreement with one another, assembled a countless force of Musalmans and Hindús and proceeded towards the fort of Chalan which was the place of residence of the foreigners. At that time nearly 1200 *sayyids* of pure descent from the city of the Prophet Muhammad and the holy martyrs, 'Alí and Imam Husain, together with 1000 other foreigners — pious and abstinent followers of Islam — resided in that fortress

When the *Dakhani wa-ís* arrived in the neighbourhood of the dwelling place of those poor foreigners and heard their numbers they saw that a peaceable policy was advisable, so they offered them safe conduct (*amán*), and with deluding and strongly-expressed oaths allayed the fears of those foreigners of good disposition, and invited a number of them to a friendly conference and those simple-minded people placed such reliance on the false oaths that from the fastness of the fortress they stepped into the desert of death and opened on their own faces the door of annihilation, till the whole of them had fallen into the mouth of the crocodile of misfortune and the net of affliction. But on that day the *wa-ís* clothed the *sayyids* and foreigners from head to foot and sent them to their homes. On the next day when the sun rose in the east the *Dakhani amírs* arranged a great feast and summoned those *sayyids* and foreigners from their dwellings under the pretence of an entertainment, but they had concealed nearly two or three thousand armed men in appointed places, so that when they found an opportunity they might put the guests to the sword. All the unfortunate *sayyids* and foreigners at the proposal of the treacherous *amírs* put away their arms and came into the place of slaughter and the *amírs*, inventing a new way of entertaining guests, seated their dear guests with the greatest ceremony, and every now and then, on pretence of food, took a number of them aside to the place which was their place of sacrifice and there entertained them with the water of the sword of tyranny and the *sharbat* of destruction so that about

1,200 sayyids of pure lineage and nearly 1,000 other foreigners from seven to seventeen years of age were put to the sword and all of them at that entertainment were made to taste the sharbat of death

Since the occurrence at Karbala and the tyranny of the shameless Zaid, at no time have such misfortunes been inflicted on the servants of God. The perpetrators of it will doubtless receive retribution on the day of judgment. In this world happened to them what happened, as is related. Those two maleficent *sardārs* in that same season were seized with leprosy, the worst of infirmities and diseases, and their sons used to swagger through the streets of the *bā ar*, and how much more so their daughters!

Enmity between Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn and Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī

Whilst the Dakhani *amīrs* had been oppressing the *sayyids* and foreigners in the manner related, Jalāl Khān, grandson of Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī, with his son Sikandar Khān, who had been specially distinguished and exalted on account of his education and beneficence, had with them two or three thousand well trained and experienced cavalry, but as they counted themselves among the number of the foreigners they feared to present themselves at court lest they should meet with the same fate as their compatriots. Their enemies used to prevent their having an opportunity of speech so that they were counted as rebels and infidels and their traducers made the fact of their not presenting themselves at court to seem like a proof of the accusation, and used to say — "The truth or falsehood of the matter will be settled by summoning them: if they come, all doubts will be set at rest, but if not they should be driven away, for once the fire of sedition takes high it cannot easily be extinguished."

"The fountain head may be stopped with a spade,
But when it is full it cannot be crossed on an elephant."

The Sultān lent a willing ear to the speech of these mischief makers, and sent a person to summon Jalāl Khān and Sikandar Khān. They with soothing excuses sought means of avoiding compliance with the summons of the Sultān, and showed some reluctance to appear at court. But their excuses only tended to strengthen the suspicions of the Sultān, who proceeded against them with a numerous army. When they heard of the Sultān's approach, Sikandar Khān left his father together with

his family and baggage in *the fortress of Bālkonda* with some reliable troops while he himself with 1,000 cavalry crossed over to Māhūr, and from there wrote a letter to Mahmud Khilji, who in those days was the ruler of the kingdom of Malwa, representing his weakness and despair and asking that king to come to the assistance of the descendants of Ahmad Mukhtār.

Sultan Mahmūd, who expected some such contingency, resolved to proceed to the Dāhan with a large force. Marching by stages he arrived at Māhūr, where Sikandar Khān joined him. The Sultan at that time was on his way to Bālkonda and when he heard of the approach of Sultan Mahmūd he went to oppose him.

Historians have related that on that occasion the Sultan ('Alī ud-Dīn) had with him nearly 180,000 cavalry, and the army of Sultan Mahmud was not more than 50,000 cavalry. When only one stage remained between the two forces, and Sultan Mahmud became aware of the numbers opposed to him he knew that it would be folly to contend against them, so returned to his own country by double marches. He left one of the amirs of his army with 1,000 cavalry to protect Sikandar Khān, with orders that if the latter contemplated returning to his own country he was to be prevented.

Sikandar Khān who was now hopeless of assistance from Sultan Mahmūd, repented of his rebellion and wished to rejoin his father and children whom he had left in the fortress of Bālkonda, so he used to remain two or three stages behind on pretence of obtaining provisions. One day, according to custom he did this till Sultan Mahmūd was a day's march ahead, and Sikandar Khān then resolved to go to Bālkonda, and accordingly turned in that direction. The force which had been appointed for his protection tried to prevent him, but the heroic Sikandar Khān attacked them and they not being sufficiently strong to resist him refrained and Sikandar Khān moving in the direction previously determined on rejoined Jalāl Khān and his family. After consultation he then sent a person to the Sultan's court, expressing contrition for what had occurred and suing for quarter. The Sultan pardoned him and received him at court with much favour and kindness.

When the Sultan had reigned for a period of 23 years, 9 months and 22 days he died.

Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ahmad Shâh was a king adorned with the ornaments of clemency, generosity, learning and sincerity. Although he spent most of his time in the society of beautiful youths and in such like pleasures, so that it is mentioned in histories that he had in his *haram* several thousand female slaves, with whom he spent the best part of his time, still he did not neglect the poor and needy and his subjects and dependents.

In the early part of his reign he released each person who had been wrongfully imprisoned, and he strove his utmost in the propagation and adornment of the faith of Islâm. He threw down ancient churches⁸² and idol temples, and in place of them founded *masjids*, public schools and charitable institutions, among which was a hospital of perfect elegance and purity of style, which he built in his capital, Bidar, and made two beautiful villages⁸³ there as a pious endowment, in order that the revenue of these villages should be solely devoted to supplying medicines and drinks, and skillful physicians were engaged to attend to the sick and afflicted friendless poor, and with the favour of God they used to cure the people of their ailments. So much did he attend to carrying out the orders and prohibitions of the divine law that even the name of wine and all intoxicating liquors was abrogated in his jurisdiction and if now and then some one fearless of the consequences drank wine or any intoxicating liquor, molten lead used to be poured down his throat. Those guilty of night-brawling and lewd practices were banished from his dominions, so that not even the name of such people remained in the country, and *qalandars*, beer drinkers and gamblers according to the Sultân's orders had chains put on their necks and were punished by being made to clean dirty places and drag stones and clay and do such like hard labour, in order that if industrious they might earn their livelihood by useful employment and not engage in forbidden practices. The Superintendents of Police were ordered to instruct the common people of the city and the people of the *bâ'âr* in the customs of Islâm and the laws regarding lawful and unlawful things and the laws of the Prophet, and repent of sins and prohibited things. He himself used to attend evening prayer on Fridays and festival days and read a *Khutbah* with much eloquence, and laud himself by the titles — "The Sultân,

⁸² The word in the original is *kandâs* plural of *kandâsh*, church. Does this mean Christian Churches?

the learned, the just, the clement, the benign, the merciful to the servants of God, the independent **Alā-ud-Dīn wa ad-Dunya Ahmad Shāh al-Walī al-Bahmanī** "

In some histories it is mentioned that **Sayyid Ajall**, who was of the family of **Katilah** and one of the chiefs of the pious descendants of the Prophet in the place of martyrdom, and was much grieved and vexed at the massacre of the *sayyids* of **Chikan** was present in the *mayid* one day when the Sultan lauded himself with the above mentioned titles. Without hesitation **Sayyid Ajall** stood up and said — " God to thee for a liar, thou art not the just, the merciful nor the clement, thou who hast massacred the descendants of the Prophet, and yet sayest these words in the pulpits of the Muslawin " Thus he said, and went out of the *mayid*

The death of the Sultan occurred in the latter part of **Jumādī I.** in the year **862** (April, A. D. **1457**)⁹⁴

[The following brief account of the foregoing reign is taken from the **Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk**]

Reign of Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn, eldest son of Sultan Ahmad

When Sultan **'Alā-ud-Dīn Bahman Shāh** became established on the throne in his father's place he used to honour **Makhdūm Khwājah Jahān** even more than his father had done, and the **Khwājah** used his best endeavours in consolidating the dominions and he caused to the government incalculable profits which he collected in the royal treasury, and the treasury was so well filled that in the time of former kings it did not contain a hundredth part of the amount. He used often to send an army to the infidels' frontier, and conquer their country and exact tribute from them by way of capitation tax. In whatever direction the royal army proceeded they returned victorious, and from all directions and from every country soldiers and merchants flocked towards the city of **Bidar**.

* * * * *

He died in the year **866** (A. D. **1461**) after a reign of **23** years 9 months and 7 days. He appointed his son **Humīyūn Shāh** as his successor

⁹⁴ The *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk* gives the date of his death four years later than this

CHAPTER XI

Reign of Humâyûn Shâh,
son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ahmad Shâh.

ALTHOUGH the late Sultân had bequeathed the sovereignty to Sultân Humâyûn Shâh, who was the eldest of his sons, and had made him heir-apparent, yet since most of the nobles, ministers of state, princes and the inmates of the *haram* were in terror of Humâyûn Shâh, they were unwilling to have him as king, on this account both nobles and plebeians concurred in wishing to raise to the throne Hasan Khân, son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, accordingly they seated him on the throne and pledged their fealty to him, whilst the common people, citizens and soldiery entered the house of Humâyûn Shâh and began to plunder and pillage. Humâyûn Shâh, together with Shâh Muhibb-Ullah, grandson of Shâh Nîmat-Ullah and eighty troopers whom he had as a body-guard, intending to take to flight, came out of the house and happened to pass by the *darbâr*. The elephant keepers who were standing ready with the elephants, being well acquainted with Humâyûn, came forward and saluted him. Saif Khân and Ulugh Khân had been appointed to protect the *darbâr*, and when they saw Sultân Humâyûn Shâh, Ulugh Khân opened the door and invited him to enter. Sultân Humâyûn, relying upon his word, entered and killed Saif Khân with his sword,²⁵ and with the acquiescence of Shâh Muhibb Ullah and the favour of God ascended the throne, and giving Hasan Khân a slap in the face said — "How dared you during my lifetime desire sovereignty and sit on the royal throne?" He then imprisoned Hasan Khân and ascended the throne.

The nobles who had sworn allegiance to Hasan Khân were not willing to have Humâyûn Shâh as king — some of them from fear took to flight. Among these Bâjâ Rustam Nizam-ul Mulk,²⁶ who was the pivot of the kingdom and the pillar of the state, fled towards Châkan and Junâr (Junnar), where joining his son, who was Malik-ut Tinjâr and governor of that district, he fled towards Gujarât, and Malû Khân, commander of the left wing of the army, fled to Râichûr.

*Sultân Humâyûn Shâh ascended the throne on the 22nd of the month Jmîdî II. in the year above mentioned. He put to death all the

²⁵ A play on words — *Saif Khân râ ba saif i jân atân ba qatl rasânl i sh*

* According to Firishtah, Saif Khân was tied to the feet of an elephant, and dragged round the town till he was dead.

²⁶ This man was one of the perpetrators of the massacre of *saiyids* at Châkan.

nobles who had been in a state of rebellion. Some, together with Hasan Khan he imprisoned. The courtiers and others *volens volens* submitted to his rule.

Humáyun Sháh was a king who in learning, eloquence and wit stood alone and distinct among the sovereigns of his time. In valour he was like the brazen bodied Ishdyár, and in bodily strength unrivalled in the Dakhan but with so many personal excellencies and outward and inward perfections he was of fierce disposition and a shedder of blood. he showed no compassion towards one accused of a crime and fearlessly shed the blood of Muslims for the most trivial offences. When he ascended the throne seeing the importance of having a reliable and prudent minister who would be of one accord with him, he recalled and placed the affairs of government in the hands of Najm ud Dín Mahmud bin Muhammad Gawán Gilani who was one of the great men of the kingdom and in justice, penetration and profundity of reflection was the most accomplished of his age, and was afterwards promoted to the title of Khwájah Jahán. The Sultán presented him with a special robe of honour and golden belt, and in showing his regard for him and exalting his dignity neglected not the smallest particulars, and that sincere-minded and able minister in his high office regulated the affairs of government in such a way that there was no room for improvement.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultán learned that Sikandar Khán,⁹⁷ son of Jalal Khan Bukhari, at the instigation of the devil, had raised the standard of rebellion and with a large force was advancing on Golkonda. On hearing this news the Sultán was excessively enraged, and ordering a large force to be assembled sent Khan Jahán⁹⁸ in command of it. The latter making rapid marches reached Sikandar Khán and engaged him, but being unequal in strength after some slight skirmishing he took to flight. The Sultán was furious on hearing the news and determined to go there himself. When Sikandar Khan heard of his arrival he boldly attacked the Sultán's force

⁹⁷ Firishah tells us that Sikandar Khán having been an intimate friend of Humáyún's before the accession of the latter now expected to get command of the army in Telinganā but being disappointed in his hopes he joined his father in Balkonda and raised a revolt.

⁹⁸ Khán Jahán was governor of Barran and had come to the capital to congratulate the Sultán on his accession. — Firishah.

and used his best endeavours, but fortune only laughed at him, his army was defeated and he himself slain.⁹⁹

After Sikandar Khān had met with the due requital of his rebellion and ingratitude, the Sultān proceeded against Jalāl Khān, Sikandar Khān's father, but the latter on hearing of the Sultān's approach, wrote to him tendering his submission, and was pardoned and received at court.¹⁰⁰ The Sultān then returned to his capital. After he had spent some time there in looking after the interests of his subjects he determined on a *jihād* against the infidels of Tilang, accordingly he assembled a large force and proceeded in that direction. Having given the command of a portion of the army to Khwājah Jahān Turk he despatched him in advance with some of the *amīrs* and generals, while he himself followed with the remainder of the army.

Khwājah Jahān with nearly 20,000 cavalry and forty elephants and a countless number of infantry started ahead of the Sultān's force, and in due course arrived within sight of the fort of Dāvarakonda,¹ which owing to its immense strength had never been taken by any conqueror. It was excessively lofty and had a deep aqueduct running into it. There Khwājah Jahān pitched his camp and laid siege to the fort. After the lapse of some days, the defenders of the fortress being reduced to extremities, sent a message to the Rāy of Uryā (Orissā) who at that time was chief of the infidels of that country. They represented to him the helpless state to which they were reduced, and agreed to pay him a large sum if he would send an army to their assistance and free them from that deadly strait. That accursed one, from greed of gain and for the defence of paganism, thought himself bound to assist the infidels of that fortress, so he sent a countless force with a hundred elephants to the assistance of the defenders of the fortress. When this news reached Khwājah Jahān he held a council of war with the *amīrs* and *khāns*. Imād ul-Mulk,² who was celebrated for his bravery, knowledge and shrewdness, advised that

⁹⁹ For particulars of this battle, see Firishtah.

¹⁰⁰ According to Firishtah he was imprisoned and we read further on (page 169) that he was killed when the prisoners made their escape.

¹ Dāvarakonda was at that time in possession of the *zamīndārs* of Telengānā and its inhabitants had been in alliance with Sikandar Khān — Firishtah.

² According to Firishtah this was Nizām ul-Mulk. The latter is probably correct, as we see a little further on that Nizām ul-Mulk Ghūrī and Iklim Khān were put to death. Khwājah Jahān told a deliberate lie in order to save himself at the expense of Nizām ul-Mulk.

Before the junction of the army of Orissa with that of Tilang they should move their camp from that confined space into the open plain, where they would fight more advantageously. In truth this plan was by far the best but Iate had so hung the curtain of negligence over the eye of Khawajah Jahan's judgment that he could not distinguish right from wrong and he took his own course. Suddenly the enemy's army came into view of Khawajah Jahan's force, and the defenders of the fortress seeing the standards of the infidels in the distance opened the gate of the fortress and sallied out, so that the army of Islam was hemmed in between the two forces and attacked on both sides. The infidels' forces being more numerous than that of Islam the latter was routed and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted. The Musalmans were pursued to a distance of three *farsakh*s,³ nearly six or seven thousand of their cavalry were killed and a great number besides died of thirst in the deserts.

At this time the Sultan had arrived within 20 *farsakh*s⁴ when messengers brought him the news of the defeat of Khawajah Jahan and the massacre and plundering of his army, and following closely on this news the remnant of the defeated army also arrived. The world-consuming anger of the Sultan being kindled he burned up the harvest of life of Nizam ul Mulk Giuri and Ikhim Khan. Khawajah Jahan and all the military officers he punished with various kinds of insult and torture or imprisoned. He then set out on an expedition against the infidels to avenge the disaster, but in the meantime a messenger arrived from Bidar who informed the Sultan that Yusuf Turk having released from prison Hasan Khan and Mirza Habib Ullah — grandson of Shah Nizam Ullah — and gained over a number of the troops had proceeded to the district of Bidar.

For the right understanding of this matter it is necessary to explain that when the Sultan went with his army to take vengeance on the infidels seven persons, particular friends of Mirza Habib-Ullah⁵ Nizam Ullah, who by the accidents of fate had been dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, having assembled like the Pleiades, planned the release of their spiritual preceptor and forming a confederacy went to Mahid Yusuf Turk (one of the slaves of the late Sultan Ala ud Din,

³ A little more than 10 miles. Frishtah says they were pursued 80 miles.

⁴ A little over 69 miles.

⁵ Habib-Ullah had been imprisoned on account of his friendship for Prince Hasan Khan — Forishtah.

and celebrated for his great integrity and devotion, charities and piety) and disclosed to him their secret plans. Yusuf entered into the views of the associates and made an agreement with them. Some of the *loticâls* of the fortress being also on their side, twelve *sawârs* and fifty foot-soldiers joined them nearly five or six thousand cavalry together with several celebrated *amirs* also agreed to join the *loticâls* of the fortress.

When it was nearly evening, Yusuf Turk and the associates went to the gate of the fortress. At that hour each of the gate-keepers had gone about some business, and the few who were present tried to stop them, but Yusuf had prepared a *farmân* with a ruby-coloured seal—which was customary on the royal mandates of the Sultans of the Dakhan—and showed it to the gate keepers. By this means they passed through the first door, but when they arrived at the second door, which was the principal one of the fortress, a great number of men came forward to stop them, and said that until the *loticâls* permit came they could not act upon the *farmân*. Yusuf seeing that the sword was the only means of silencing their tongues, cut off their heads and entered the fortress. By this time the sun having set a great darkness had fallen over the fortress. A number of them going to the door of the great prison, which adjoined that of the fortress, broke it open with axes. Nearly six or seven thousand *sayids* and learned and pious men were confined in that prison, and when they found the doors open and saw the means of effecting their escape, they broke their chains and manacles with sticks and stones and rushed to the door of the prison. The friends of Mirzâ Habib-Ullâh who had caused all this disturbance then went to a village called Mirzâ-Dih, and there all were released from their bonds. Now in the fortress, between friends and enemies, there were 12,000 persons with swords and axes scattered about, so the whole city was soon in a state of riot and confusion, and as owing to the darkness of the night friends and enemies could not be distinguished from one another, many were killed. Yahyâ Khân, son of Sultan 'Alâ'ud-Din, and Jalâl Khân Bukhârî were basely and cruelly killed on that dark night. Hasan Khân, the sovereign of a moment, who as yet had tasted only the bitterness of life, rushed out of the fortress and hiding himself in the house of a barber disguised himself in the dress of a *daruish*, and Mirzâ Habib-Ullâh with his friends joined him. The Mirza wished to retire into a sequestered life, but Hasan Khân persuaded him against it, so they made a mutual agreement, and leaving the city set out for

Mir⁶ The soldiers obtaining information of this, sought them from all sides and in a few days a great number joined them.

When the news of this insurrection reached the ears of Humayūn Shah the fire of his world consuming wrath began to blaze up, and he became like a madman he put in chains and threw under elephants a great number of his *amirs* and generals and retired in all haste to his capital. On the way in the excess of his rage he used to bite the back of his hand till the blood flowed from it. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mahmūd Shāhi* who was one of the courtiers of Humayūn Shah, relates as follows — ‘I have heard that when the news of the insurrection of Hasan Khān reached the Sultan he was so overpowered with fury that there were times when in his rage he used to tear the collar of his garment and bite the ground till his teeth were covered with blood, and when he arrived in the city of Bidar, such shedding of blood and such numerous acts of tyranny and oppression emanated from him that no preceding tyrant had been guilty of such.’

Sultan Humayūn Shah told off a force to go in pursuit of Hasan Khān and Mirzī Habib-Ullāh, who had gone in the direction of Bijāpur. Sirāj Khān — who afterwards became Mirʿazān Khān — was governor of that place. He met the fugitives with all kinds of honour and ceremony, waited on them with propriety and presented them with suitable gifts, and making an agreement and compact with them, emptied the fortress and brought them into it, but at night-fall he assembled a large force and in the quiet of the morning when Hasan Khān and his adherents were wrapped in a deep sleep in their beds the double dealing Sirāj Khān with his troops entered the fortress, and taking possession of the horses and baggage surrounded the citadel in which were Hasan Khān and Mirzī Habib-Ullāh with their six devoted followers, and when the sleepers awoke they saw the hostile troops which had surrounded the citadel. When Hasan Khān saw what had happened he cried for quarter. Although Mirza Habib Ullāh endeavoured to dissuade him from showing this weakness and humility, and reminded him of the want of faith and trustworthiness of those people, and in language suggested by their situation, quoted the verse —

“The snake in protecting inflicts injury
Moreover its tooth is poisonous.”

⁶ Properly Bhill. A little farther on they are said to have gone to Bijāpur. The two places are about equally distant from Bidar. Firsiht also says they went towards Bhill.

Hasan Khân, from his excessive fear, gave no heed to his words, and at last threw himself on the mercy of Sirāj Khân, but Mirzā Habib Ullah and his friends resolved not to accept quarter which was not at all to be relied upon. He said — “We are all born to death, and are prepared for the arrival of the predestined moment. I am resolved never to place the hand of submission in your hand or sue for mercy from you.

An enemy does not become a life long friend,
 The Arabian thorn-tree produces no fruit but thorns
 The hyacinth does not grow from white seed.
 Who ever saw sugar cane produced from the common cane?
 And strive as one may, one jewel does not become another.”

His eloquence, however, made no impression on those people, and Shāh Habib-Ullah and his friends suffered martyrdom. The poet Sayyid Tāhir has composed a chronogram of the martyrdom of Shāh Habib Ullāh, which occurred in A. H. 863, A. D. 1458.⁷

Hasan Khân, to whom they had given a promise of security was sent to the court of Humāyūn Shah, the Sultān caused him, in his own presence, to be thrown before tigers and killed. The faithless Sirāj Khân, after breaking his promise became afflicted with leprosy.

After that Sultān Humāyūn Shah opened the hand of tyranny and oppression, and overthrew the foundations of mankind with the sword of injustice, and used to murder whole families at once. From the sighs of the hearts of the afflicted each night there used to be a thousand cavities in the livers of the celestial globe, and the daylight, from the smoke of the hearts (sighs) of the oppressed used to appear like a dark evening. The fire of his rage blazed up in such a way that it burned up land and water, and the broker of his violence used to sell the guilty and innocent by one tariff. The nobles and generals when they went to salute the Sultān used to bid farewell to their wives and children and make their wills. Most of the nobles, ministers, princes and heirs to the sovereignty were put to the sword.

Several of the new Muslimāns whom Sanjār Khân in the time of the late Sultān, during his war with the infidels, had made prisoners — as already mentioned — were promoted to high dignity. Among

مہ شعبان شہادت یافت درہند حبیب اللہ عاری طاب شعاعہ
 روان ظاہری برآمد روح پاک نعمت اللہ

there was a Brahmin youth to whom the name of Hasan and the surname of Bahri was given. He was a youth adorned with beauty both of person and disposition, and ornamented with perfect sagacity and shrewdness, on him was conferred the title of Sarang Khān.

Historians have related that Shitāb Khān, one of the Sultan's *amīre*, having fled for his life, the Sultan, on the 27th of the month Ramazān, which is the time for repentance, ordered the inmates of his (Shitāb Khān's) *haram* to present themselves in the court-yard of the court where there was an assemblage of common people and soldiers, and tortured them in a most shameful manner.

The sum of the matter is this that in the kingdom of the Dakhn the torture of Āsmān* and sudden misfortune had descended, and the storm of the vengeance of God had burst upon that city and its environs.

At length a welcome event occurred which opened the doors of mercy and rejoicing to those oppressed people on the 28th of the month Zi al Qa'dah Sultan Humāyūn Shāh was removed from the court of sovereignty to the vestibule of the last day, much to the delight of his subjects.

The death of Sultan Humāyūn Shāh occurred on the 27th of Zi al Qa'dah in the year 865 (3rd October, A. D. 1461),⁸ and the period of his reign was three years, five months and five days.

The poet Nazir has composed the following chronogram of the death of Humāyūn Shāh —

"Humāyūn Shāh has passed away from the world

"God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humāyūn "

"On the date of his death the world was full of delight,

"So 'delight of the world' ¹⁰ gives the date of his death "

CHAPTER XII.

Reign of Sultan Nizām Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh.

HISTORIANS have related that, when Sultan Humāyūn Shāh was on his death-bed, he summoned Khwājah Jahān and Khwājah Mahmūd Gīlāi, and by the terms of his will left them to

* Name of a genius who presides over the 27th of every Persian solar month. Some consider this genius to be the same with Murdā or Asael, the angel of death — Johnson's Dictionary

⁸ The author states above that Humāyūn died on the 28th of the month, and here on the 27th. Firisbtah has 28th

¹⁰ دوق حلق = 586

decide as to which of his sons — viz, Sultan Nizām Shah, Sultan Muhammad Shah, or Jamshīd Shah — was best fitted for the succession. Since the tokens of sovereignty were manifest in the appearance of Sultan Nizām Shah, after the death of the Sultan Khwajāh Jahān, in concurrence with the *amirs*, nobility and grandees, on the date above mentioned, in the capital Bidar, seated Sultan Nizām Shah at the age of eight years on the throne in place of his father. According to the customary service devolving upon the *sayids* as heads of the people, Shāh Muhabb-ULLāh son of Shāh Khalīl Ullāh, and Sayyid-i Sharif Sayyid Manjalah, son of Sayyid Hanīf, each taking a hand of the Sultan seated him on the throne, and the *shelāhs* and learned men who were present recited the *fātihah* and they as well as the nobles and ministers uttered the customary praises and congratulations and plighted their fealty, and having received suitable gifts recited these lines —

“O King, may thy high fortune be everlasting !

May the dust of tranquillity be the collyrium of thy penetrating eyes !

May the mirror of thy heart be always as free from blemish as the precious gems in thy sword !”

The prince being still only a boy in the flower of youth, the administration of the affairs of government was entrusted to the Queen-Mother, Makhdamah Jahān, who was daughter of Muḥarrah Khān, son of Sultan Fīrūz Shah, and with the aid of the sound judgment of the wise minister Khwajāh Jahān Mahmūd Gīwān the affairs of State were wisely administered. First of all their attention was given to the comfort of the subjects, and they busied themselves in repairing the injuries inflicted by Humāyūn Shāh. All the innocent persons who had been imprisoned by him were set at liberty, and the agents of government were confirmed in the offices and rank which they formerly held. But as most of the *amirs* and *tazirs*, through fear of the vengeance of Humāyūn Shāh, had fled and become scattered abroad, and the affairs of the subjects in general and the army had fallen into a state of the utmost disorder, and oppositionists and breeders of disturbance had withdrawn from their allegiance and raised rebellions the Rājā of Orissa with a large force of infantry, cavalry and

elephants had invaded and devastated the whole territory of Lalim. The nobles and ministers of State who were present at court assembled large forces, and Sultan Nizam Shah set out with them from Bidar to repel the invasion. When they had gone only ten *farsakhs*¹¹ from Bidar the army of Orissa arrived from the other direction and between the two forces not more than three *farsakhs*¹² remained. Shah Mahabb Ullah with a force of 160 armour-clad cavalry armed with lances, placing his reliance on God, started at daybreak against the infidels and encountered the enemy's vanguard which consisted of nearly 10 000 infantry, 400 cavalry and some elephants. An engagement took place which lasted from mid day till sunset. Many of the enemy were killed and the dust was defiled with the impure blood of the cursed infidels. The *sarjed* fought with the greatest bravery and the enemy's force was completely defeated. When the remainder of the enemy's force saw what had happened they wavered and fled, leaving their tents, baggage and other valuable goods on the spot.

Sultan Mahmud Khilji wages war against Sultan Nizam Shah

Just when the mind of the guardian of the Sultan was at rest on the conclusion of the Orissa affair, letters arrived from the protectors of the frontiers saying that Sultan Mahmud Khilji having become aware of the dispersion of the army of the Dakhan and the disorder which reigned in it and the ascendancy of the infidels had — at the instigation of the Ghuris who had taken refuge with him to escape chastisement from Humayun Shah — come with an immense army, and crossing the frontier had encamped in a desolate part of the country. Immediately upon hearing this news the Sultan with his army proceeded to oppose Sultan Mahmud and at the distance of about ten *farsakhs* from Bidar the two forces met and drew up in order of battle.

Malik Shah Turk on whom the title of Khawajah Jahan had been conferred, and another Turki slave who held the title of Sikandar Khan were in the centre of the army, in attendance on Sultan Nizam Shah with a hundred elephants and 11,000 cavalry. The right wing was under the command of Nizam ul Mulk Turk with 10 000 spearmen and forty elephants, and in the left wing

¹¹ About 2½ miles.

¹² About 10 miles.

was Khwājah Mahmud Gāwan, who at that time held the title of Malik-ut Tujār, with 10,000 cavalry and forty elephants.

On the other side Sultan Mahmud Khilji drew up his army both right and left wings, and strengthened his position, and he himself with 20,000 cavalry and 150 elephants raised his standard in the centre, but notwithstanding the overwhelming number of his force he dug a deep trench round his position so that horses or other animals could not cross it.

The two armies were drawn up in this manner in front of one another. From the clamour of drums and trumpets the heavens were in anguish, and sleeping Tamalt raising its head from its pillow awoke at the noise.

Malik ut Tujār with the left wing attacked the enemy's right where Sultan Ghayas-ud Din had raised his standard. The latter though he advanced and fought with much bravery was unable to meet the attack, and at last gave way, and his father being killed he took to flight. Nizam ul-Mulk also from the right attacked and broke the enemy's left and numbers of them were dispersed. Mahabat Khan, governor of Chanderi and Zahir ul Mulk as well as other *amirs* of Sultan Mahmud who were on the enemy's left were killed. When Sultan Mahmud saw both wings of his army thus broken and most of his *amirs* and troops disheartened he was about to take to flight, but in the midst of this the elephant-keepers of the (Bahmani) Sultan seeing the order of the enemy broken had drawn up in line fifty formidable elephants in expectation that the enemy would fly before them and at once drove them towards the enemy's force. The Turki *amirs* who had been delicately nurtured from their youth and were unacquainted with the tactics of warfare neglected to send a force in rear of the elephants, as they should have done, and so left the elephants unsupported in the midst of the enemy. Sultan Mahmud Khilji who still remained in his place seeing this move in the game of chess, showed a fresh rook and sent a force of infantry and cavalry to cut off the elephants from the Dakhani army and shut them in. At this time it occurred to the mind of the foolish Sikandar Khan¹³ that the Sultan owing to his youth was unable to

¹³ Sikandar I bin son of Jalal Khan Bukhri was killed during the previous reign (A.D. 1365) so this must be so another individual of the same name.

ride well, and fearing that he might be wounded, he lifted the Sultân from his saddle and seating him in front of himself tied the Sultân's *kamar-band* firmly to his own waist, but this unreasonable movement caused the army to be disheartened, and when the troops no longer saw the Sultân in his place they turned and fled from the field of battle. The elephants which had been driven at a rapid pace, remained in the hands of the enemy. The centre of the Dakhanî army without experiencing any reverse, and though the Sultân was still alive, like a flock of sheep without a shepherd, turned towards the desert; and contrary to their custom those brave men, every one of whom was skilled in fight, looked like the disordered locks of women.

Khvajah Jahân and Sikandar Khân, who were with the centre of the army in attendance on the Sultân, saw the flight of the army, and taking the Sultân with them proceeded to Bidar. Sultân Mahmûd from excessive fear and amazement did not move from his place, but fell into this reflection — ‘The army of the Dakhanî are practising a stratagem — they have placed a force in ambush and pretend to run away, so that when we pursue them they may surround us, otherwise why should the army fly after gaining the victory?’

At midnight the *amîrs* brought Sultân Nizâm Shâh into the city of Bidar, and next day when the sun rose, Mahdûmah Jahân, the mother of the Sultân (who through fear of Humâyûn Shâh had fled to Râyachûr, but now — encouraged by a royal written agreement — had returned to court), gave orders for the defence of the fortress of Bidar, and appointed Nizâm ul-Mulk also to assist her. Then taking the Sultân with her, led the whole force to Fîrûzâbâd Kalburgî.

Sultân Mahmûd waited three days in the same place till he was assured of the real flight of the Dakhanî army. After that he marched to Bidar and encamped within sight of the city, and proceeded to plunder and devastate the city and district. He razed to the ground the houses of the nobility and inhabitants, so that both the great and small of that country recited the *tal'ûir* of death over their household goods and habitations, and lost all their money and effects.

The enemy's army surrounded the citadel and laid siege to it.

From olden times — as has been formerly mentioned — the foundations of mutual friendship had been firmly laid between the Bihmañi dynasty and the Sultāns of Gujarāt, so in this interval Mahdūmah Jahān, who was the most sensible woman of her day, wrote a letter to Sultān Mahmūd, king of Gujarāt, complaining of the tyranny and oppression of her enemies, and sent it by the hand of an eloquent messenger imploring assistance from the Musalmāns of that country.¹⁴

When Sultān Mahmūd heard this news he resolved to proceed to the Dakhan to repel the tyrant Mahmūd Khiljī, but his nobles and ministers expostulated with him, saying — “Dilād Khān who had possessed the sovereignty for a week is still lying in wait, and though this is the third year of Your Majesty’s reign your rule is still not as firmly established throughout the country as it should be, nor have the important affairs of government been furthered as much as could be desired, therefore at such a time as this to leave the seat of government, and for the benefit of others to go on a campaign is a matter for serious consideration.”

Sultān Mahmūd, though still in the flower of youth, replied to the *amīrs* in elegant language — “God is with him who is with God, and to assist Musalmāns and friends is praiseworthy and necessary, for the regulation of the affairs of the world and of mankind is founded upon concord, and it is certain that if the heavens and the elements did not agree with one another and join together in this manner, the organization of the universe would be annihilated, and if the race of men were to break the chain of mutual assistance and reciprocity the foundations of the laws of Nature would be overthrown. . . . ”

When Sultān Mahmūd had ended this manly discourse and had inspired his people with manliness and bravery, after expressing their regret to the Sultān for their unworthy thoughts they changed their minds and said — “If there is no help for it but to send an army into the Dakhan, the best course seems to be to enter the kingdom of Mālwa, and so cause anxiety to the mind of the Khiljī by this means you will not have to travel so far from your own territory, and if (which Heaven forefend!) any disturbance should arise in this country, you will be able to return

¹⁴ *Fide* Bayley *Gujarāt* pp 175-6 and *Mirāt-i-Sikandar* litho ed, p 90

malik fearlessly replied — "You must surely be in jest to invade the territories of Mosalmāns, to lay waste their country and houses, and rob them of their property, and then to ask for a legal decision from the doctors of the law on the subject of vegetables is not the act of people of understanding."

When Sultān Mahmūd Khilji heard the news of the assembly of the army of Sultān Nizām Shāh, and that Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī was coming to his assistance, he raised the siege, and taking Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh and his followers with him, marched from Bīdar and set off two or three stages towards Kalyāṇī so as to escape by way of Chāndor, but in the meantime spies brought the news that Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī with his army was proceeding in that direction, so Mahmūd Khilji in fear of his life turned from that direction and hastened towards his own dominions by way of Burhānpur and Aśr.

When the news of the flight of Khilji reached Sultān Nizām Shāh he ordered Khwajah Jahān with a large force to go in pursuit of him, and to hang on the rear of the enemy's army, and slaughter and plunder them wherever he found them. Marching with all speed he came up with the rear of the enemy's army, plundered their baggage and killed great numbers of them.

On the road news again reached Sultān Mahmūd Khilji that the Gujarāt army was encamped in the neighbourhood of the district of Saltimpūr, so, seeing that that road also was closed against him, he summoned the chief of Gondwārā and soothed him with various kinds of favour and kindness in order that he might lead them by some other route by which they might avoid molestation from the enemy. The chief said — "In this neighbourhood there is no practicable route for the army and baggage, but there is a road like the place of Hīrūt and Marūt¹⁶ towards Akot and Elīchpur, far removed from the route of the army of the king of

¹⁶ Names of two angels who having severely censured mankind before the throne of God were sent down to earth in human shapes to judge of the temptations to which man was subject. They could not withstand them they were seduced by women and committed every species of iniquity for which they were suspended by the feet in a well in Babylon where they are to remain in great torment till the day of judgment — *Johnson's Dictionary*

Gujarat but for several stages, owing to the difficulties of the road and the thickness of the jungle, it is hardly practicable

Verse

The earth is more waterless than brimstone,
The wind more heart burning than hell "

As a matter of necessity Sultân Mahmûd chose that route for the passage of his army, and said — The difficulty of the route is easier than throwing one's self into the jaws of destruction."

Turning aside from the direction of Daulat abad, which was the route of the Gujarat army, he marched with as much speed as possible towards Akot. When the tyrannical army entered that valley and desert of which the chief of the Gonds had told them, owing to the numbers of the army and the length and narrowness of the road, the hot winds and the scarcity of fresh water, the troops were excessively distressed, and in the first march five or six thousand of them died of thirst. A band of Gonds who were robbers on that road, when they saw the sufferings of the army from want of water, took the opportunity to plunder them from front and rear and right and left. The remainder of the army, after encountering a thousand difficulties and dangers, had managed — half dead — to reach Karân¹⁷

Notwithstanding the trouble and torment suffered by the army of Sultân Mahmud from want of water on the first march, immediately upon hearing this news, being in terror of their lives they started on, sometimes rising and sometimes falling. It is stated on reliable authority that on that march a cup of water was sold for two rupees, and was thought very cheap at the price. The truth is that since the designs of Sultân Mahmûd were not accommodated to propriety and rectitude towards mankind no result but disaster and reverse of fortune accrued to him from that improper and unfair movement. From the seed of trouble and tyranny which he had sown he neither saw nor gathered any fruit but regret and affliction. On the second stage of his march he lost a great number of men, and those who escaped death were so knocked up by the fatigue of the journey that they would have preferred death to life. Mahmûd Khilji, who was himself the originator of

¹⁷ This is probably meant for Karanja Lat 20° 30' N Long. 77° 32' E

his own unpraiseworthy movement, put to death the chief of Gondwārah whom he suspected of purposely misleading them, though he had graphically described the difficulties of the route

After the flight of Mahmūd Khilji, Sultān Nizām Shāh wrote and sent to Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī a letter thanking him for his kindness ¹⁸

A year after this Sultān Mahmūd Khilji again took it into his head to wage war, and with nearly 90,000 cavalry he set out towards the Dakhan. When Sultān Nizām Shāh heard of this he assembled his army and unfurled his standard for the purpose of repelling the aggression, and at the same time despatched a letter to Sultān Mahmūd of Gujarāt informing him of the enemy's invasion. When the ruler of Gujarāt was informed of the boldness of Mahmūd Khilji he at once prepared to oppose him

Mahmūd Khilji through fear of him shrank from the encounter, and halted on the frontiers of Devagiri (Daulatābād), where he contemplated his own territory with a look of reflection and anxiety, thinking that perhaps the flood of destruction might surround him, and there might be no opportunity for retreat by the way he had come. When he was assured of the approach of the army of Gujarāt, like a gnat which flies from the sound of the wind he beat the drum of retreat, and hastened away.

When Sultān Nizām Shāh became aware of the flight of his enemy he wrote the following letter to Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī — ¹⁹

"The sum of the matter is that the envious and malevolent Khilji had marched towards Daulatābād, but on the 1st of the month Rajab, A. H. 867²⁰ (22nd March, A. D. 1462) his spies informed him of Your Majesty's arrival near Sultānpur and Nandurbār for the purpose of strengthening the foundations of our mutual friendship, and eradicating and destroying that troublesome one. As soon as he heard of our alliance that disappointed wan

¹⁸ The letter occupies a page and a half of the MS., and being written in extremely ornate style, and interspersed with Arabic quotations the reader will probably thank me for omitting it.

¹⁹ The greater portion of this letter is omitted for the same reason as the other

²⁰ The year is not stated here, but we see from what follows as well as from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (lith. ed. p. 97) that it was A. H. 867

derer retreated by the same road as last year, at which we were much rejoiced. Such being the state of affairs it seemed right to inform you. May the enemies of your country always be vanquished, and the rulers of your State always be victorious !"

In this year Sultân Nizâm Shâh son of Humâyûn Shâh died suddenly in the thirteenth year of his age. His nuptial feast had been prepared, when from the *haram* sounds of lamentation and wailing arose, and the assembly of pleasure was changed into one of mourning. The nobles and ministers, the inmates of the *haram* and the court attendants shed tears of blood in their anguish.

His age was eleven years, and the period of his reign, according to the best authorities, was two years and fourteen days. This event occurred on the 13th of Zi-nî K'adah in the year 867 (30th July, A. D. 1463).

CHAPTER XIII

Reign of Sultân Muhammad Shâh II, son of Sultân Humâyûn Shâh

After the death of Sultân Nizâm Shâh the nobles and generals consented to the succession of his brother, Sultân Muhammad Shâh, who was then in his tenth year, and according to precedent, on the above-mentioned date, Mahlûl ul Mushâfikh Shâh Muhabb-Ullah and the chief *saiyid*, Saiyid Manjalah bin Saiyid Khasif, seated him on the throne, recited the *fâtihat* and wished him long life and prosperity, and the nobles and generals plighted their fealty to him.

The Sultân behaved with liberality towards the doctors of the law, the nobles and ministers, and subjects and army, and invested them with robes of honour, and distributed many valuable presents.

In truth Sultân Muhammad Shâh was a king endowed with dignity, of high abilities as a ruler, and his magnificence and pomp exceeded that of any other king of Hindûstân as well as his own ancestors. Among other articles of luxury and regal dignity a thousand Turki slaves from Kibchâk of exceeding beauty waited on him, each standing in his (?) place with folded hands and lowered head. In the time of this monarch the laws of justice and equity were strengthened and confirmed, and the foundations of tyranny and oppression were destroyed.

In the beginning of his reign the affairs of government were conducted by Malik-ut-Tujjar Khawajah Muḥmūd Gāwān, and with the approval of Mahdūmah Jahān and all the amirs and grandees Khawajah Jahān Turk Shāhī was punished because in the time of the late Sultan he had been guilty of negligence in the war with Muḥmūd Khilji. The power of Malik ut Tujjar was now vastly increased, and his orders were everywhere obeyed throughout the dominions of the Sultān.

At this time Nizām-ul Mulk was sent with an army against the fortress of Khêrlā. On arriving there he encamped within sight of the fortress and laid siege to it. After the siege had lasted some time the defenders capitulated, and Nizām ul-Mulk agreed to give them quarter, so they came out, but the governor of that fortress, who was an infidel, had treacherous designs concealed in his heart and at the time of taking *pān* he stabbed Nizām ul Mulk to the heart with a dagger.

A learned man has composed a chronogram giving the date of his death.

After this occurrence the soldiers of Islām drawing the sword of vengeance from the scabbard of hatred cut down that fearless impure occurred one who had committed so shameful deed, they also killed his followers, and cleansed the earth from the impurity of their existence. They then plundered and devastated the fort and surrounding country, seizing all the goods they could lay their hands upon, and levelling with the ground the dwellings of the idol worshippers.

The deceased Nizām ul-Mulk had two adopted sons, slaves of Humāyūn Shāh, whom he himself had educated, one entitled Yakrush (or Yaghrush) Khān, and the other Fath Ullāh Wafā Khān. The two sons taking the body of their father went with the army to the court of the Sultān, and making their reverence at the foot of the throne exposed to the view of the Sultān the booty which they had brought. The Sultān invested the sons of Nizām-ul Mulk with robes of honour, and conferred on them as a *jāgīr* the whole of that country (Khêrlā) and its dependencies. He gave Abd-Ullāh²¹ the title of 'Adl Khān, and Fath Ullāh that of Daryā Khān, and exalted them above their equals. This event occurred in A. H. 870 (A. D. 1465).

²¹ This is not one of the names previously given.

Marriage of the Sultān.

In this year¹¹ the Sultān desiring to marry, orders were given to prepare the marriage feast

* * * * *

After the conclusion of the marriage festivities robes of honour and princely gifts were conferred on the nobles, ministers and generals

In the midst of these affairs the ruler of Mālwa sent an ambassador named Sharf ul Mulk to the court of the Sultān with valuable presents and a letter applying for the restoration of Khêrlā which from olden times had belonged to the rulers of Mālwa, but had recently been taken by the Dakhani amirs.

When he understood the contents of the letter, the Sultan appointed Shekh Malik Ahmad Muhtasib to proceed to the court of the King of Mālwa with a letter and valuable presents. When Shekh Malik Ahmad arrived in Mandū he waited on Sultan Mahmūd, and laying the foundations of peace and prosperity, presented the letter of which he was the bearer, and which was to the following effect —

“Your Majesty’s letter reached its destination, and its contents are understood

As regards the districts of Ahmadabad Māhur which in the reigns of Sultan Ahmad Shah Wali al Bahmani and Sultan Al Hāsim Al Karim Sultān ‘Alī and Dīn Ahmad Shah, were conquered from the districts of the infidels and have come into our possession, and for the most part under the *tarafdārī* of Nizām ul Mulk Ghūrī the revenue of those parts has been paid into our royal treasury, and up to the present time they have been in our possession you shall therefore withdraw your claim to them, and there shall be no farther dispute in the matter

As for Khêrlā, since it is known on reliable authority that during the reign of the late Sultan Ahmad Shah Wali Al Bahmani at Benares to Humayun Shah,¹² it shall be restored to you

As regards the other districts of the infidels, which are for the most part in a state of war and have never professed the faith of

¹¹ The Sultān was then only thirteen.

¹² King of Mālwa.

Islam, and the inhabitants of which are continually plundering and devastating the dominions of both of us, they shall belong to whomsoever shall take them with the sword.

After ratifying these terms of agreement, which are not subject to alteration, the messenger is to return "

According to his orders, Shekh Malik Ahmad ratified the terms of the treaty, and then returned to the capital.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan one day gave a public audience, and having conferred titles on the nobles and ministers, made the following eloquent speech in *darbâr* —

* * * * *

With the consent of the Queen Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân, the office of prime minister and the regulation of the affairs of the country and people was conferred on Khwajah Mahmud Giwan, who was ennobled by the title of Khwajah Jahân, and was given unlimited authority over all the affairs of State. He used his power wisely, and in whatever direction he turned, he reduced the countries to submission and compelled them to pay tribute. He increased thus the Bahmani dominions to an extent never achieved by former sovereigns.

After the affairs of government had been put into the hands of Khwajah Mahmûd, entitled Khwajah Jahân, orders were issued for the assembly of a large army with which he proceeded on an expedition against the infidels of Hubli and Bigalkot, and the troops surrounded the fortress and laid siege to it. The sound of drums and trumpets reached the heavens, and they took to their arrows, cannons and guns. Eventually the Dakhani troops took possession of the fortress. They put many of the garrison to the sword, plundered the houses and seizing whatever they could carry off, levelled the rest with the gronad.

The Sultan by that attack having gained possession of the fortresses of Hubli and Bigalkot and the remaining forts and districts of that country, reduced the chiefs of those parts to submission, and the latter after having paid the revenues of their districts into the royal treasury, were exempted from further molestation by the troops.

After that the Sultan returned to his capital

The Sultân sends Khwâjah Mahmûd Gâwân with a large force against the infidels of the Konkan

When the Sultân had spent a short time in enjoyment and recreation in his capital he conceived the idea of waging a *jihâd* against the infidels of the forts and hills of the Konkan so he summoned the nobles and ministers of State, and explained his intentions. Khwajah Mahmud Gâwân, standing up among the nobles, respectfully saluted the Sultan, and said — 'We are ready to sacrifice our lives in your service and to save you from the trouble incidental to conducting a campaign yourself in person if Your Majesty so orders it, I will undertake this duty, and by the aid and favour of God and Your Majesty's good fortune I shall clear the base infidels out of all the forts and towns of that country, and take possession of them, and so free Your Majesty's slaves from all anxiety from them.'

The Sultan highly approved of this proposal, and presented many royal gifts and a special robe of honour to Khwajah Jahan. A number of nobles and generals were appointed to co-operate with Khwâjah Jahan in conquering the Konkan.

Khwajah Jahan with a large force set out on the march from Bidar, and halting in the district of Kolhâpur, made preparations for the campaign. He summoned the army which was in that place, and from Junnar and Chakan Asad Khân joined him with a large force. Kishwar Khân also arrived with his force from Kalar (?) and Dâbhol.

When a sufficiently large force had assembled Khwâjah Jahan proceeded against the rebellious people of that land, and ordered his troops to cut down and burn the jungle which served as a hiding-place for the enemy. When the base infidels of that country became aware of his approach they joined one another in numbers like ants and locusts to oppose him, and nearly fifty engagements took place between the Muhammadans and the infidels. After that the rainy season arrived with its clouds, rain and storms, so Khwajah Jahan unavoidably adjourned the campaign, and with his army returned to Kolhâpur, where he remained till the conclusion of the season of damp and mud. Then Khwajah Jahan raised his standard and resumed the conquest of the country.

of the infidels. First of all, marching to Rabankana (?)²⁴ he took the fort immediately upon his arrival there, and thence he marched to the fort of Māchal²⁵ and quickly succeeded in gaining possession of that also. After that the army marched towards the fortress of Sangameshvar which in strength was second only to Junnar. As has already been related in these pages, the infidels of those parts in the time of Khalf Hasan Malik-ut Tujār had massacred him and the brave soldiers of Islam.

When the Rāya of Sangameshvar heard the news of the approach of the brave minister with his army, and had also heard of the conquest of the forts of that country, fearing vengeance, he was overpowered with terror, and having no other resource he sent a person to Khawājah Jahān to sue for quarter, and delivered up the fortress of Khēlna²⁶ to the agents of Khawājah Jahān.

This unrivalled minister passed nearly two years in that country and mountainous region. He put many of the base infidels to the sword, and seizing most of the forts and towns from the hands of the infidels, threw the fire of rapine and plunder into the homes of the idol-worshippers, and immense booty and valuable goods, such as horses, elephants, maidens and female slaves of cypress like forms and tulip like cheeks, as well as precious jewels and pearls fell into the minister's hands.

Khawājah Jahān with his army took this immense booty to the court of the Sultan, and after making his obeisance, presented so many offerings from the booty which had fallen into his hands in his numerous victories that the beholders were astonished. The Sultan, by royal favours and kindnesses, exalted Khawājah Jahān above all his equals, and conferred on him the titles of Majlis-i Karīm and 'Azīm-i A'zam Hum-yūn Makhdūm Khawājah Jahān, and orders were given that in the royal assembly none of the nobles or grandees should take precedence of Khawājah Jahān, and that he should have supreme authority in the government of the Dakhni dominions.

In this year the Queen-Mother, Makhdūmah Jahān died, and in A. H. 875 (A. D. 1470) the Sultan assumed the reins of government.

²⁴ Not identified.

²⁵ A hill close to Vishalgadh in which rises the river Machkund.

²⁶ The modern Vishāl, a)h.

In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telinganâ and informed the Sultân that the Râya of Oriss, who was the principal râya of Telinganâ was dead

The Sultân was rejoiced to hear this news, and resolved upon the conquest of those dominions, accordingly he held a council of war with his nobles and ministers. Malik Nizâm-ul-Mulk Bahri, who was one of the favourites of Humâyûn Shah, said —

'With Your Majesty's permission I will undertake this duty.' The Sultân invested him with a special robe of honour, and despatched him with some of the other nobles in that direction.

When the base infidels of those parts heard of the approach of the royal army they assembled an army more numerous than ants and locusts, in the midst of heat like the flames of hell, and came out to oppose the army of Islam, but however much they strove attacking and retreating before the conquering army, they were at last reluctantly compelled to take to flight, and the royal army pursued them and put many of them to the sword.

After this victory, Nizâm ul Mulk Bahri marched towards the fortress of Râjamundari (Rajamahendri), and in a short time obtained possession of it. Thence he proceeded towards the fort of Kondâvir, which is situate on the summit of an extremely high mountain and built on hard rock. This fortress he laid siege to and after great exertions it was taken like the others.

Malik Nizâm ul Mulk took most of the forts of those districts, and assigned them to the nobles and ministers on feudal tenure, then hastening back to the royal court he made his obeisance to the Sultân and presented to him the booty which he had obtained from the land of the infidels, and he was rewarded by costly gifts and a robe of honour.

At this same period the prime minister, Khwâjah Jahân, founded four lofty and beautiful domes and colleges in the bazar of Bidar. Maulânâ Mahmûd Shîrazî has composed a chronogram recording the date of the building of the college²⁷ (A. H. 876, — A. D. 1471). Up to the time of the writer of these pages — which is a thousand years from the *Hijrah* (A. D. 1591) — those

²⁷ The words recording the date are بنا بعدل منا

buildings and the four domes, in ornament and elegance, are still the admiration of the world

In the year 879 (A D 1474) the Sultan sat in state on his throne and gave a public audience to the *amirs* and nobility, and in elegant language explained as follows — "The announcers of news have informed me that the district of Wairagadh, which is in possession of Jatak Raya, the ungrateful, is a mine of diamonds, and I am resolved that that district also, like all the others, shall be brought into the possession of the servants of this court, and that in those districts the rites of Islam shall be introduced, and the symbols of infidelity and darkness be obliterated "

Majlis Rafi 'Abd Ullah 'Adil Khan, or — according to one historian — Iath Ullah Darya Khan²³ (according to the diversity of opinion of historians) stood up, and saluting the Sultan, said — 'I hope that I may be intrusted with this duty in order that at the risk of my life I may, by the aid of God and the favour of Your Majesty's good fortune, take the fortress of Wairagadh and conquer the infidels of that country."

The Sultan rewarded 'Adil Khan with kingly gifts, invested him with a special robe of honour and despatched him in that direction with several nobles and ministers. The said 'Adil Khan with a large force marched towards Wairagadh, and in due time encamped in the neighbourhood of that fortress which was exceedingly lofty and strong, and laid siege to it. The troops displayed much gallantry and strove their utmost, so that the defenders were at last reduced to extremities. When Jatak Raya witnessed the strength and bravery of the attacking force he was overcome with fear, and sued for quarter. He sent a message to Majlis Rafi 'Adil Khan, tendering his submission, and said that if a written promise of safe conduct for his family were granted, he would surrender the fort. 'Adil Khan accordingly gave the required written promise, and took possession of the fort and leaving some of his troops in charge of it, returned with the rest of his army to the royal court, and presented to the Sultan the valuable booty which he had obtained. The Sultan rewarded him handsomely invested him with a special robe of honour and assigned to him as a jagir the districts which he had conquered

²³ These are the two sons of the murdered Nizam ul Mulk mentioned on page 121

The Sultān's army proceeds to repress the faithless
Parkatāpah²⁹

In this same year,³⁰ and in the midst of these occurrences Khwājā Jahān Khwājāh Mahmūd Gāwān informed the Sultān that the perfidious Parkatāpah had withdrawn his head from the collar of obedience, and raising the standard of revolt had taken possession of the island of Goa. He added — "With Your Majesty's permission I will go and put down this rebellion and chastise that accursed one, conquer the whole country of Kānara and Vijayānagar and annex them to the dominions of Islām."

The Sultān was astonished at the military ardour and bravery of that pure minded, incomparable minister, but, preferring to enjoy the happiness of himself waging a *ḡalāb*, he ordered his army to be assembled, and from all quarters countless troops flocked into the court.

The Sultān with an army more numerous than drops of rain or the sand of the desert proceeded towards the fortress of Balgaṇw (Belgaum); one which is distinguished and exceptional in strength among all the forts of the Dakhan from the foundation of the walls to the richly battlemented, all built of cut stone,³¹ and it had a deep wet ditch. In due time the Sultān encamped in the neighbourhood of that fortress, and being anxious to take it he ordered his troops to be drawn up in great force in front of it. The royal engineers apportioned the ground to the different *amirs* and heads of the army, and in a few days the attack commenced with loud noise and they battered the towers and battlements with cannons, guns, mangonels³² and all the implements of war. Each day they used to throw the day of resurrection into the fortress of the infidels, and with the crash of cannon and mangonels destroyed the buildings and dwellings of the infidels and filled in the ditch with earth and rubbish.

When for a long time the troops of Islam had been contending in this manner with the infidels, the hearts of the latter were filled

²⁹ In nearly every place in which this name occurs in the MSS. it is spelt differently e.g. Parkatāpah, Burkānah, Parkatābah, Parkatāyah, Parkitah and Barkitah. It ought to be written Birkāna Rāy, or perhaps Vikramāditya — see Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I Part II p. 88.

³⁰ A. H. 870 (A. D. 1474).

³¹ Laterite.

³² *Mangani*.

with the greatest dread of the army of Islam, and they began to give way. But Parkatapah, who was the chief of the lords of hell, seeing the state of terror of his followers, resolved to resort to stratagem and deception to induce the royal army to raise the siege. He therefore sent a person to the *amirs* and ministers and bribed them to induce the Sultân by some means or other to refrain from taking the fortress. Next day, when the nobles went to make their obeisance to the Sultân, they all, with one accord, interceded for the cursed Parkatapah. When the Sultân saw the unanimity of the *amirs* in interceding for the worshippers of idols he smiled a forced smile, and spoke as follows in elegant language — "What boldness is this on the part of the cursed Parkatapah, that he dares to contend against our forces? Against us, the foremost among the sons of men, who have inherited the name of 'Sultao' and the title of 'Kayân' from our illustrious ancestors against us who from the time of Bahman, son of Isfandiyâr,³³ to Kayûmars have been illustrious sovereigns. With God's help I will make into fuel for hell that accursed, contemptible one with all his hundred, in order that other rebels may take example from him."

The Sultân then urged his troops to make fresh endeavours, and in order to see the progress of the fight, and encourage the hearts of his brave warriors, he rode his piebald charger, and from his regal dignity and majesty the strength of the army was increased so that each one became equal to a thousand, and instilled the utmost fear into the hearts of the infidels.

When Parkatapah saw the helpless state of the garrison, he trembled and himself sent his family from the towers of the fortress to make their obeisance to the Sultân, while he himself came out from a tower in front of the royal court, with a rope round his neck, and tying himself to a pillar stood like a slave. The Sultân on seeing this and the coming of his family, took pity on the wretched creatures, and forgiving their offences spared their lives, and bestowed the fortress on his minister Khwâjah Jalâl.

After that the Sultân returned towards his capital, but on the way stopped some days at Bijâpûr, and bestowed handsome pre-

³³ Bahman son of Isfandiyâr is commonly known as Ardashir Darâz dast — the celebrated Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. The name Bahman is a Sanskrit compound signifying 'possessing arms' — Malcolm's *Hist. of Pers.* Vol. I, Chap. IV.

sents on his nobles and ministers, and rewarded all according to their several merits and services. He then returned to his capital.

In the same year a great famine occurred in the Dakhan, and since that sudden misfortune originated in Bijâpûr it was generally known as the famine of Bijapur. It extended to most of the districts and many people died of hunger and destitution. After that the Creator of the world and Provider of the necessities of life opened the doors of comfort in the face of mankind and all kinds of animals, and in His great mercy freed the people from trouble and disquietude. Praise be to God for His beneficence!

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan was informed that the perfidious *Râya of Orissa*, with a large force of foot and horse had invaded the territories of Islam. Nizam ul Mulk Bahri, who was situated as a barrier between the country of the infidels and the territories of Islam, owing to the numbers of the enemy's force, was unable to cope with them, hastened towards Wazirâbâd. The Sultan ordered his army to be assembled in all haste at the town of *Malikpur*,³⁴ near *Aehtar*,³⁴ on the bank of a tank which was one of the innovations of Malik Hasan Nizam ul Mulk Bahri. According to orders they flocked there from all parts, and in a short time an immense force was assembled, and the Sultan marching with them in due time arrived near the fortress of *Rajamundri* (*Rajmahendri*). From that innumerable force the Sultan picked out 20 000 men with two horses each, and leaving the minister *Khwajah Jahan* in the royal camp in attendance on the prince (*Mahmûd Khan*) he himself with the picked troops proceeded to *Rajamundri*, and was accompanied on this occasion by the Prince of the Apostles, *Shih Mahabb-Ullah*, grandson of *Shâh Nîmat-Ullâh*.

When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of *Rajamundri*, they saw an immense city, on the farther side of which the infidel *Narsingha Râya* with 700,000 armed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand. On this side of the river he had dug a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and guns and all the apparatus of war. Yet notwithstanding all this army and pomp and pride and preparation—

³⁴ Not ident fixed

when Narsingha Rāya heard of the arrival of the Sultān's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take to flight.

When the Sultān became aware of the flight of the enemy he appointed Malik Fath-Ullāh Daryā Khān with several other *amirs* of his conquering army to go in pursuit, and in slaughtering and plundering to strive their utmost. Daryā Khān, accordingly, with his division pursued the infidels as far as the fortress of Rājāmundāi, and laid siege to it. The Sultān also followed him with all speed and raised his victorious standards at the foot of the fortress. The noise of the war drums and trumpets was such that the infidels imagined it was the trampet of Isrāfil.³⁵ Orders were given to the army to surround the fortress, and with cannons, guns, arrows and all the engines of war to reduce the besieged to extremities and deny them the necessities of life.

It had nearly arrived at that stage that the face of victory was reflected in the mirror of the desires of the royal troops, when suddenly the commander of the fortress cried for quarter. The Sultān in his exceeding mercy and kindness took pity on those unfortunate people, pardoned their offences and gave them a written promise of quarter. The governor of the fortress riding on an elephant of gigantic size went to pay his respects to the Sultān. He made his obeisance and was enrolled among the Turkī, Tilangī and Habshi slaves.

The Sultān with some of the nobles and great men went out on the summit of the fortress, and signified his wish that the rites of the faith of Islām should be introduced into that abode of infidelity. He appointed to the charge of the fortress the same person to whom it had been formerly assigned.³⁶

After that the Sultān went forth, and exalting his victorious standards, proceeded towards his capital, where he turned his attention to the administration of justice and looking after his subjects and army. He liberally rewarded the officers and brave men of his army.

In the midst of these events 'Adil Shāh, Wali of Asirgadh and Burhānpur, who had been constantly in subjection to the

³⁵ The angel of death, who is to blow the last trumpet.

³⁶ Nizam-ul Mulk Bāzī.

Sultāns of the Dākhan and recited the *Khutbāh* and coined money in the name of those kings, and been a staunch friend and ally of theirs, came to Bidar to pay his respects to the Sultan, and the latter several times took part in festive entertainments in the society of Ādil Shah

The Sultān marches to Kānchīpura and that
neighbourhood ,

Khawājah Jahān is put to death through the deception of
people jealous of him

In the months of the year 885 (A D 1480) the Sultān was informed that his subjects in the fort of Kondāvir had broken out in rebellion, and throwing themselves on the protection of Narsinhā Rāya had altogether withdrawn from their allegiance to the rule of Islam. Undoubtedly to defer or neglect to admonish and chastise them would give rise to sedition and disturbance, and probably lead to the destruction of the country, so the Sultān on hearing the news, in the month of Ramazān in the above mentioned year (November, A D 1480) ordered his army to be assembled, and marching with it towards the kingdom of Vijayānagar, in due time arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Kondāvir, and encamping there, completely surrounded it, so as to prevent all entrance or exit on the part of the infidels.

Immediately upon this movement of the army, the rebels in the fortress were much disturbed, and the swords, spears and arrows struck terror to their hearts, so they hoisted flags of submission on the towers and battlements. They all then begged to be forgiven, and said — “The cause of our swerving from the road of obedience, and travelling in the desert of error was this,— Certain ministers of the royal court who wished to seize for themselves the government entrusted to them, set over us as their agents a clique of disreputable, tyrannical oppressors who stretched out the hand of oppression and authority over our property and worldly goods, and would not refrain from their unjust practices, however much we represented the circumstances. They would not allow the tale of our oppression to reach the Sultān, so at last we were driven to desperation.”

When the Sultān became aware of the circumstances of those guiltless oppressed people he pardoned their past offences, and in

his exceeding kindness bestowed the fortress with all its dependencies on **Malik Hasan Humāyūn Shāhi Nizām ul Mulk Bahri** in order that he might exert himself in cherishing the subjects. But from the words of the inhabitants of the fortress the dust of vexation towards **Khwajah Jahān** settled on the margin of the Sultān's mind, and he secretly resolved on his destruction.

After the conclusion of the affair of **Kondāvir** agreeably to his desires, it occurred to the Sultān that the extensive plains are only open to military operations up to the rainy season, and the eradication of the worshippers of **Lāt** and **Manit** and the destruction of the infidels was an object much to be desired, and as the infidel **Narsinha**, — who, owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions, was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of **Telingānā** and **Vijayānagar** — had latterly shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and *n'al bahā*,³⁷ therefore the best course to adopt was to trample his country under the hoofs of his horses, and level the buildings with the ground.

It has been related that this **Narsinha** had established himself in the midst of the countries of **Kanarah** and **Telingānā**, and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of **Vijayānagar**.

The Sultān now, because of the above-mentioned considerations, marched with his army from the above mentioned fort,³⁸ and advanced about forty *farsangs*³⁹ into the country of **Narsinha**, and on arriving within sight of the fortress of **Malūr** — which was the greatest of the forts of that country — encamped there.

When the cursed **Narsinha** obtained information of the approach of the royal army, he became uneasy and took to flight without giving battle, and used to pass each day in a house and each night in some jungle or other.

One day the Sultān ordered a letter to be written to the impure **Narsinha** founded upon threats and intimidation, and reminding him of his hostility both former and recent. When this angry and

³⁷ Money given to foreign troops to abstain from plunder and devastation.

³⁸ **Kon Mār**

³⁹ About 13½ miles. The actual distance of **Malūr** from **Kondāvir** in a straight line is about 270 miles.

terror-inspiring letter reached that undiscerning infidel, trembling for fear of being attacked by the Sultân's army, and having no other resource, he sent a quantity of valuable presents of jewellery and other valuables, elephants and horses to the Sultân's court, and confessing his weakness, promised obedience and submission.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultân was informed that at a distance of fifty *farsa*/⁴⁰ from his camp was a city called *Ganjî* (*Kanchipura* or *Kanchi*), situated in the centre of the dominions of that malignant one, containing temples which were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels and valuable pearls, besides innumerable beautiful slave girls. From the rise of Islam up to this time no Muhammadan monarch had set foot in it—no stranger had laid hand on the cheek of the bride of that idol temple, and it was suggested that if the Sultân were to send an expedition against it, immenso booty and treasures would doubtless be obtained.

On hearing this news the Sultân left the prince and the pre-minded minister, *Khawâjah Jabân* and some of the nobles and great men in charge of the camp, whilst he himself with nearly 10,000 horse made forced marches from that place, and after they had for one day and two nights, travelled a long distance through an uneven country, on the morning of the second day, which happened to be the 11th of Moharram in the year 886 (12th March, A. D. 1481) the Sultân with *Nizâm ul Mulk Bahri*, *Khân-i 'Âzam 'Âdil Khân* and 150 special slaves of the Sultân, entrapped the whole army, and having surrounded the city of *Kanchi*, entrapped the people of that city of sinners. Out of a number who had been appointed for the protection of the city and temples, some were put to the sword, whilst others by a thousand stratagems escaped with their lives, and took to flight. The royal troops moment by moment and hour by hour following one another were assembling till a large army was collected under the Sultân's standard. After that, at a sign from the Sultân, the troops took to plundering and devastating. They levelled the city and its temples with the ground, and overthrow all the symbols of infidelity, and such a quantity of jewels, valuable pearls, slaves and lovely maidens and all kinds of rarities fell into their hands, that they were beyond computation.

⁴⁰ About 170 miles. The actual distance in a straight line from *Malûr* to *Kanchipura* is about 120 miles.

After the successful accomplishment of his desires, the Sultan returned from that place to his camp. On arriving there he ordered an elegant poetical account of this celebrated victory to be written, and copies distributed throughout his dominions.

In the midst of these affairs a clique of jealous and malevolent persons who play with the understanding of everyone, and by deceit and knavery under the semblance of friendship, create ill feeling between father and son, having conceived pure lies and vile inventions which had the appearance of truth, reported them to the servants of the Sultân.

The details of this summary and the abridgment of this digression is this — that a number of spiteful persons, "discreet in their hearts," who were continually making malignant imputations against the Khawjah, with a large sum of money, bribed one of his confidential slaves who always kept his seal about him, to affix his seal to a paper, and return it to them, so that by this cunning device they might accomplish their designs. The misguided slave, according to the wishes of those evil persons, readily consented to do that shameful deed.

The conspirators wrote a letter purporting to be from Khawjah Jahân to Narsinha Râya, full of treachery and ingratitude towards his benefactor, and at the time of leisure they presented that letter to the Sultân in his private apartment, and secretly gave him that manifest calumny in the garb of sincerity and certainty, and this served to verify the statements of the former calumniators. Since, from the passage of the complaint of the inhabitants of Kondâvir the dust of alleged injury from the minister had already settled on the mind of the Sultân, the contents of this letter put the former matter into motion, and he fully determined to put to death that incomparable minister.

On the 5th of Safar, in the year last mentioned (A. H. 886 = 5th April, A. D. 1481), the nobles being all assembled in the court, the Sultân, on pretence of having taken an aperient, retired from the assembly, and sent some one to summon Khawjah Jahân, and called him into his private apartment.

It is said that when the Khawjah was mounting, with the intention of waiting on the Sultan, an astrologer represented ¹⁷

him that it would be advisable for him to put off going into the Sultān's presence on that day. The Khawājah replied : — "The merit of attendance on His Majesty may be productive of eternal happiness and honour to me. Praise be to God, to Whose goodness I bear witness !"

It is related that before the Khawājah attained the grade of martyrdom, he used continually to repeat this verse :—

"As martyrdom to love is glorious here and hereafter,
"Happy should I be to be carried dead from this field."

And in an ode which he had composed in the previous year in praise of the Sultān, he foretold this circumstance.

* * * * *

When the Khawājah arrived in the presence of the Sultān, he kissed the ground in salutation. The Sultān asked him : — "If a slave of mine is disloyal to his benefactor, and his crime is proved, what should be his punishment ?"

Khawājah Jahān, without hesitation, replied : — "The abandoned wretch who practises treachery against his lord should meet with nothing but the sword."

The Sultān then showed Khawājah Jahān the forged letter ; and when the wretched Khawājah saw it, he exclaimed : — "By God ! this is an evident forgery."⁴¹ He placed his head on the ground and emphatically swore :— "Although this letter is sealed with my seal, your slave has no knowledge of its contents. God forbid ! that such base ingratitude should emanate from this slave, with so many past services and risking of life ; who has experienced so many acts of kindness from Your Majesty, and who has been distinguished and selected above all his equals.

By God, the jewel of whose commands
The spiritual perforate with their hearts' blood,
It is like the false story of Yusuf and the wolf — 42
That which his enemies say of this slave."

However much Khawājah Jahān spoke in this strain, it was of no avail. The Sultān, on some excuse, rose up. Jauhar Hubsht

⁴¹ A quotation from the *Kur'ān*.

⁴² Alluding to Joseph's brethren telling Jacob that he had been torn by a wild beast.

and some of the slaves had previously been ordered to watch for the Sultan's signal, and whenever he might look towards them, to kill Khawjah Jahân, and clear the mind of the Sultan from anxiety on account of that minister. At a sign from the Sultan they now martyred Khawjah Jahân by blows of their swords, and threw him in the dust of destruction. And having called As'ad Khan inside they put him also to death.

But the clique who had designed this plot, in a short time met with their just recompense, for shortly afterwards their fraud and deceit became manifest to the Sultan. Their treachery and ingratitude was proved, and they receiving the punishment due to them, were put to death, and the remainder were banished.

* * * * *

After the execution of Khawjah Jahân, the Sultan proceeded towards his capital, and looked after the comfort of his soldiers and subjects, treating all with much kindness. After some time he repented of having killed that minister, but since the arrow had sped from the bow and the shaft of fate lodged in the butt, regret was of no avail. For this reason delay and deliberation in punishing is advocated by the greatest of sages, who says — "One cannot remedy the punished, while he who is not punished can be judged."

In some histories it is related that after the martyrdom of Khawjah Jahân, the Sultan one night in a dream saw the Prophet seated on the throne of judgment, and the father of Khawjah Jahân appealed against oppression, and demanded retribution for the blood of his son. The Prophet asked him for his witnesses, upon which he produced them, and in accordance with the orders of the Prophet, the law of retaliation was enforced upon the Sultan, who from terror of that dreadful dream, awoke, and by compulsion and uneasiness related the dream to his intimates. He was in a constant state of terror owing to that dream.

A year after that the Sultan again conceived the idea of waging a *jihâd* against the infidels, and having collected an army in numbers like the sand, he resolved to invade Vijayanagar and seize the Konknn. On the way there the Sultan was seized with asthma and fever, and his strength suddenly failed owing to the severity of the fever. Although skilled physicians applied remedies and

did their utmost, they could not cure him in fact, they only increased his illness. The Sultân seeing death approaching made his will. He sent for Prince Ahmad — afterwards called Sultân Mahmûd and having appointed him heir to the throne died.

The nobles and statesmen rent their clothes and put dust on their heads and began weeping and wailing

* * * * *

Sultân Muhammad Shâh was a king characterized by mildness and bravery and celebrated for his mercy and generosity, but he had sold the gem of his precious soul for the jewel of the liquid ruby of pore wine, and had burnt the nest of the bird of his spirit in the desire of pleasure. He had a great partiality for the Turki slaves and left in their hands the management of all the important affairs of State.

The Dakhanî *amirs* — who had been brought up by the ancestors of the Sultân — after his death unanimously agreed to the succession of Sultân Mahmûd Shâh. Outwardly they had mixed with that clique [the Turkis] like dice of ivory and ebony on a chess board, but in the end they played with false dice, and suddenly falling upon the Turkis, threw them on the chess table of annihilation and misfortune, and arrested them. But eventually the Dakhanî *amirs* treated one another in the same manner, and crossed swords with one another, so that a country which was adorned like the faces of the fair became utterly dishevelled and confused like the curls and hair of women. Some of which occurrences shall after this, please God, be written in the account of Sultân Mahmûd Shâh.

The age of Sultân Muhammad was twenty-eight, and the duration of his reign, twenty years and two months. His death occurred on the 5th of the month Safar, in the year 887 (26th March, A. D. 1482). An excellent man has composed the following chronogram of the date of his death —

“The king of kings of the world, Sultân Muhammad, •

“Who was suddenly plunged into the ocean of death,

“Since the Dakhan became waste by his departure,

• So the ‘ruin of the Dakhan’⁴³ was the date of his death •

⁴³ The words giving the date are *حرامی دکن*. The same chronogram is given in Firishtah.

CHAPTER XIV.

Reign of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh,
son of Sultan Muhammad Shāh II.

AFTER the death of the late Sultān, the *amīrs* and ministers and leaders of the army unanimously agreed to the succession of Mehmd Shāh, and accordingly seated him on the throne, and tendered their congratulations.

When Sultān Mahmūd succeeded to the throne, he liberally bestowed presents and conferred favours on all, and spread the wings of mercy and justice over his subjects; and in the early part of his reign all his subjects passed their days in safety and ease.

From the time of the late Sultān up to the present the Turki slaves, who were brave and warlike, had obtained great power, and had brought into their own grasp most of the important affairs of the sovereignty; and in the time of the present Sultān also, in the same manner as formerly, most of the State affairs were in their hands, and they had assumed supreme power.

The *amīrs* and *malīks* of the Dakhan now made overtures of friendship with the Turks; but among the great men of the age — or even among the human race in general, as long as it exists — friendship has no possibility of permanency or durability. The Dakhanis entered into an alliance and made a firm compact with Kawām-ul-Mulk Turk, who was the minister of the principality. The Turki *amīrs*, relying upon the compact of the Dakhanis, were careless of [the consequences of] its binding terms.

Some of the Dakhani *amīrs* told Kawām-ul-Mulk that Abd-Ullāh 'Ādil Khān, Fath-Ullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk and all the Dakhani *amīrs* and *malīks* intended, after doing homage to the Sultān, to take their leave and set out for their own country; but as they were in dread of the Turks, it was necessary that on the following day none of the Turki attendants should show themselves in the city until these had taken their departure. The simple-minded Kawām-ul-Mulk, deceived by his enemies, complied with the request; and on the appointed day, in the manner promised, the Turki *amīrs*, enjoying themselves in their own habitations and assemblies were heedless of the happening of the accidents of fate. But the

Dakhanī *amīrs* with their troops fully armed entered the fort, and while every one of the *Tuklām* rs, according to instructions, were off their guard in their own houses, the Dakhanīs fell upon them and slaughtered them. A few only, with great difficulty, managed to escape, and hid themselves in out-of-the-way places.

After the massacre of the Turks, Malik Ḥasan Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri was distinguished by royal favours and was exalted to the title of Malik Nā'ib, and all the affairs of government were placed in his hands. But as for the Dakhanīs who had massacred the clique of Turks after having made a compact with them in a short time the consequences of that action recoiled on them, and caused them endless misfortunes. Some of that clique hoisted the standard of revolt, and having collected a large army, had the boldness to march against the Sultān.

Sultān Aḥmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, who had been carefully reared under the special superintendence of his father, the Malik Nā'ib, and who, notwithstanding his tender age, was adorned with abundance of bravery and generosity, learning, justice and all human qualities, in accordance with the Sultān's orders had had the districts of Junīra and Chakan and that part of the country conferred on him as a feudal tenure and *jagir* — as will hereafter be related in detail in the history of that king. When the news of the revolt of the army of the Dakhan against the king reached him [Aḥmad Nizām ul Mulk], he marched with his army to the assistance of the Sultān.⁴⁴

When the rebel army heard of his approach they were much alarmed and began to waver. The prince with his brave troops attacked the rebels, and in one engagement put them to flight, and pursuing them for several *farsangs*, slaughtered many of them, both

⁴⁴ It was this Aḥmad Nizām ul Mulk who a few years afterwards became the founder of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar. Though here called 'Sultān' and 'Shāh' he of course did not bear either of those titles at this time. I have not translated the numerous ornate phrases prefixed to his name. The reason why the author speaks of him in such flattering terms is obvious when we remember that the *Burhān-i Ma'āwī* is essentially a history of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty the Bahmanī portion being only an introduction to the rest.

The whole of this paragraph is one long involved sentence in the text and I have been obliged to invert the order and split it up in order to make it intelligible in English.

great and little. A few only managed with much difficulty to escape. The prince after being greatly distinguished by royal favours, took his leave, and returning to his own country, looked after the welfare of his subjects in Junūr and Chākan.

After that the Sultān marched with his army to make war against the country of Telingānā and on reaching Warangal pitched his camp within sight of the fortress.

At this time a clique of Habābis in the service of the Sultān had the utmost confidence placed in them; and owing to the power they possessed in the affairs of government, used to behave in a very imperious manner; and being at enmity with the Malik Nā'ib were constantly trying to get rid of him by repeating to the Sultān speeches and stories tending to prejudice him against the minister. So many slanders and lies did they concoct against that incomparable minister that the heart of the Sultān was turned against him, and they obtained from the Sultān an order for the minister's execution, but waited for an opportunity of carrying it out. When the Malik Nā'ib became aware of their treacherous intentions towards him, he fled from the camp of the Sultān and hastened to the capital, Bidar. Since the cup of the life of that minister of pure disposition had become full he did not [as he ought to have done] go to Junūr to the prince, Sultān Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri, but instead went to Bidar in hopes of assistance from Pasand Khān, who was one of his dependents. The unreliable Pasand Khān at first made him solemn promises. Outwardly he showed him obedience and submission, but secretly he sent a person to the Sultān and gave his promise that when the Sultān should arrive in the neighbourhood of the capital, he would put to death the Malik Nā'ib and send his head out from the fortress, on condition that the Sultān should accord him his favour and grant him immunity from his royal displeasure. The Sultān, in accordance with the proposal of the foolish Pasand Khān, sent him a written promise of support, and afterwards himself proceeded to Bidar.

When the Sultān arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital, Pasand Khān — who after that became notorious for ingratitude — martyred the Malik Nā'ib, and having cut off his head, threw it outside the fortress. The Sultān then proceeded to his palace and took his case.

At this time the power and authority of the people of Habshah and Zangbâr in the service of the Sultân had increased a thousand fold, and the other State officials had no longer any power except in name. The whole country and the offices and political affairs of the kingdom and the government treasuries they divided among themselves, and arrogantly ignoring the sovereign, themselves governed the kingdom. But since the star of their good fortune had now reached its zenith, after continuing for a long time undiminished as is invariably the rule with fortune as well as the revolving heavens — the star of that clique began to decline. The Turks, who are a war like and blood thirsty race, got into their hands most of the affairs of importance and the highest dignities, thus Hasan Khân Khurâsânî became Khawajah Jahân, Jamâl-ud-Dîn Shâh i Hauz obtained the title of 'Ain ul Mulk and 'Ali Turk that of Jahângir Khân.

At the same time the Sultân, following the example of his illustrious ancestors on the throne, for the sake of invoking the divine blessing on his bed, married his own sister Fâtimah, daughter of the late Sultân Muḥammad Shâh, to His Highness Habib-Ullâh Shâh 'Attîst-Ullâh, son of Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh, and according to the time-honoured custom of the kings of India, gave a great entertainment on this occasion. The fort of Medsk, which is situate in the country of Telengânâ on a piece of solid rock, he gave to them as a wedding present. His other sister he gave in marriage to His Highness Mirzâ Adham, son of Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh, and settled upon them in feudal tenure the district of Jâkâtî.¹⁵

Account of the open Rebellion of the Amirs of the Dakhan and their shameful fighting against the Sultân.

It is related that the Sultân made a beautiful flower garden with a rivulet running through it, the banks of which were lined with trees, and in that garden he spent his time in pleasure and amusement from morning till evening, continually drinking cups of ruby-coloured wine. One night the Sultân proceeded to his royal villa, and his troops having dispersed he indulged in pleasure and conviviality, but in the midst of this a great tumult was heard from the streets and bazars of the city and fortress. The whole of

¹⁵ موقع ادم دوکاتی I have not been able to identify this place

the army had gone to the royal palace with the intention of deposing the Sultân. At that time ten able bodied and brave young Turks presented themselves before the Sultân, and showing dauntless courage, killed numbers of the rebels with their bows and arrows and swords. The Sultân with those brave warriors stood in the Shâh Burj of the fortress, which was surrounded by countless infantry and cavalry. Of the ten men who fought so valiantly in the service of the Sultân, five were killed. The Sultan calling for bow and arrows himself engaged in battle, and killed many of the rebels. He summoned Hasan Khawajah Jahân with all the Khurâsîns and ordered them to guard the tower and walls. They went to the palace, but as the evil-doing rebels had barricaded the fortress from inside, they scaled the tower and walls of the fortress by means of ladders and dispersed the rebels from round the Shâh Burj. When the active Turks and foreigners in attendance on the Sultân were assembled in the Shâh Burj in numbers beyond computation, the Sultân ordered them to extend themselves round the towers and walls of the fortress, and fire on the enemy, and thus they did. 'All Turk Jahângir Khân with a number of the brave foreigners occupied the streets and cut off the retreat of the rebels, while Hasan Khawajah Jahân with a few of his men hastened to the gate, and killed numbers of the enemy. When the day dawned the Sultân ordered his troops to mount and prepare for battle. He himself, fully armed, was mounted on a swift horse. Then being joined by Hasan Khawajah Jahân with the Turkî and Khurâsîns troops, all well armed, they attacked their opponents. Since the Sultan in person took part in the fight, by his good fortune and the valour of his troops, the enemy were routed and put to flight. When the sun rose, the rebels from fear of the Royal troops hid themselves. Many of them, in fear of their lives, threw themselves from the towers and battlements, and by the same road went to the dwelling of perdition. A few who were hidden in nooks and corners, the royal troops sought out, and dragging them out from their hiding places, put them to death.

After this defeat of his enemies the Sultan indulged in pleasure and amusement.

, In the midst of these affairs the Sultân ordered his architects to build a lofty and beautiful palace inside the fortress, near the Shâh Burj. The skilful builders, according to orders, laid the founda-

tions, and the Sultân himself for a long time used to watch attentively the progress of the work.

* * * * *

After the completion of the palace, the Sultân used to spend most of his time in it in a continual round of voluptuous amusements

In the midst of these events the Sultân received intelligence that Kâsim Turk — who had received the title of Khawâss Khân, and afterwards that of Barid-ul-Mamâlik,⁴⁶ and had been given the town of Kandhâr and its dependencies on fœdal tenure — was in a state of rebellion. It was necessary to endeavour to put out the fire of this rebellion as quickly as possible, in order that the injury caused by the sedition might not spread through the whole country, and render the remedying of it not easily practicable. Consequently the Sultân being firmly resolved to suppress it, appointed Dilâwar Khân Habsht (who, owing to the abundance of his followers, the multitude of his army, his wealth and magnificence, had been selected for the command of the army) to put down the rebellion of Kâsim Turk. Dilâwar Khân, according to orders, with his warriors and well trained cavalry moved towards Kandhâr. When Kâsim Turk became aware of his approach, he prepared for battle and engaged Dilâwar Khân.

* * * * *

As Kâsim Turk had not sufficient strength to oppose the army of Dilâwar Khân, he thought the best thing he could do was to retreat, so he ceased fighting, and taking to flight set out from Kandhâr towards Balkonja. Dilâwar Khân pursued the enemy and wished to separate them and slaughter them. But suddenly a vicious elephant from the army of Dilâwar Khân getting beyond the control of his driver ran into the midst of the army, and overthrowing the horse of Dilâwar Khân, trampled him to death. Kâsim Barid on hearing of this was much rejoiced, and turning round hurried towards Dilâwar Khân's camp, and without the trouble of fighting obtained possession of all Dilâwar Khân's

⁴⁶ Kâsim Barid who shortly afterwards founded the Barid Shâhi dynasty. Sultân Kullî who afterwards founded the Kuth Shâhi dynasty also had the title of Khawâss Khân before he acquired that of Kuth ul Mulk. He took a prominent part in the fighting above described and the latter title was given him in recognition of his services on this occasion. — Vide Briggs, Vol III p 313

baggage, elephants and horses. Then binding the fillet of opposition to lawful authority on the forelock of revolt, he hoisted the standard of rebellion.

At that time most of the *amirs* and *wazirs* of the different provinces of the dominions having withdrawn their necks from the collar of obedience and subjection, had hoisted the standard of rebellion in their own districts, consequently the Sultân was quite incapable of subduing the rebellion of Kasim Barid. The only remedy he could see was to enter with him through the door of reconciliation and forgiveness by promising him a share in the government and making a treaty with him to that effect, render him secure. On this account the Sultân sent Kasim Barid a written treaty; and the latter having hopes of realizing his ambition of obtaining the government of the kingdom of the Dakhan and the rank of *Mîr-i Jnmlah*, proceeded to the royal court, and taking in his own hands the reins of government, he assumed sovereign authority, so that, except in name, no power remained to the Sultân. And not content even with this, he quarrelled with the *amirs* and *wazirs*, his object being to make them all subject to him. But the *amirs* would not submit to the government of Kasim Barid. They opened the door of opposition and strife, and joining together in opposing Kasim Barid, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. From all quarters of the dominions armies being assembled marched towards the capital, Bidar. When this distressing news reached Kasim Barid in the city of Bidar he told the Sultân to issue an order for the mobilization of the royal army, and an immense army being assembled, the Sultân marched with it to meet the rebels.

In the midst of these affairs the prince, Sultân Ahmad Bahri Nizâm-ul-Mulk, coming from Junnar, joined the royal camp, and after kissing the Sultân's hand made ready for the undertaking and was treated with kingly courtesy.⁴⁷ After that, the Sultan marched towards Udgir, and at the town of Devati⁴⁸ the opposing forces met one another. Although the hostile *amirs* entered into a

⁴⁷ Ahmad Bahri does not appear to have shown any resentment on account of the murder of his reputed father, the Malik Nâib.

⁴⁸ Not identified, but must be somewhere between Bidar and Udgir.

correspondence with the Sultān, imploring him to oust Kāsim Barid from the government of the dominions of the Dakhan, in order that they might submit themselves loyally to the Sultān, and cease fighting, yet as the Sultān had no longer any control over the affairs of State, he was unable to comply with their request⁴⁹. The *amirs* were then under the necessity of fighting against the army of Sultan Mahmūd. It is related that when the Dilkhaui *amirs* attacked the army of the Sultān, both sides fought so furiously that they made the dust of the battle field like a tulip garden, and the dead were thrown in heaps on the surface of the ground. Kāsim Barid seeing the bravery of the *amirs* knew there was no use in continuing the battle, so he took to flight. In the midst of this the Sultān, from the charging of the warriors of the army, and the horses and elephants dashing against one another, fell off his horse, and his delicate body became acquainted with the dust of the battle field. When the *amirs* saw their king fallen, they were excessively afflicted and ashamed. They dismounted from their horses and kissed the ground before the Sultān, and mounting him on a swift horse, sent him on to the capital. Each of the *amirs* then turned towards his own country. Sultan Ahmad Bahri Nizam ul Mulk also, taking his leave of the Sultān, turned towards the district of Junnar. After the *amirs* had dispersed and gone to their own districts, Kāsim Barid again went to court and assumed supreme power. In several histories it is stated that this event occurred in the latter days of the reign of the Sultān, and that he died one year after that — as will hereafter, please God⁵⁰ be related.

In the midst of these events there came to the ears of the Sultān a memorial to the following effect from Malik Yusuf Turk, who had obtained the title of *Majlis-i Rafi* 'Adil Khān, and was at that period in possession of Rāyachūr, Bolgāon, Targal [Naregal⁵¹] and other towns⁵² —

"Malik Dīnār Dastūr-i Mamālīk, an Abyssinian eunuch, having placed his foot outside the path of obedience and subjection, has become a traveller on the paths of rebellion and resistance

⁴⁹ From this period may be said to date the establishment of the Barid Shāhi dynasty and the overthrow of the Bahmani.

⁵⁰ He was the founder of the 'Adil Shāhi dynasty.

This slave of the court in concert with Your Majesty, will bring about the punishment of that perfidious unbeliever by placing the lightning striking sword in his embrace, and so recompense his ingratitude and rebellion. At this time again, Malik Khush Kadam Turk Aziz ul Mulk, who was formerly a ruler, having become a fellow traveller with that black faced, abandoned one, they have scratched the face of fidelity and agreement with the ul of oppression and hypocrisy."

Immediately upon hearing these dreadful words, the fire of the Sultan's world consuming anger blazed up, and he ordered the royal army of Turks and Khurasanis to be got ready for battle and assembled at court in order to extirpate these worthless enemies. When the Sultan heard of the assembly of the army he mounted his horse and hoisted the royal standard Kasim Barid i Mamalik — who was the [real] ruler of the kingdom of the Dakhan — with other *amirs* and nobles set out with the Sultan.

When Majlis i Rafil 'Adil Khan and Masnad i 'Ali Fakhr ul Mulk obtained information of the approach of the Sultan, they hastened to join the royal camp and make their obeisance.

The Sultan then paying attention to the arrangement of his army, gave the command of the right wing to Majlis i Rafil 'Adil Khan and Masnad i 'Ali Malik Fakhr-ul-Mulk, and that of the left wing to Malik Kasim Barid i Mamalik and Kadam Khan and Jahangir Khan, while the Sultan himself with the armed Turks and Afghans and the warriors of Hind and Khurasan, with all the flower of the army, hoisted his standard in the centre. The proud rebels too busied themselves in preparing to encounter the royal army. They disposed their forces in perfect readiness, and hoisted the standard of bravery and boldness. After that, the warriors of each of the two forces, like two mountains of iron and steel, getting into motion, rushed on one another, and drawing the sword of hatred from the scabbard of vengeance, separated the heads of the leaders from their bodies and threw them on the dust of destruction. Malik Fakhr-ul Mulk charging from the right wing, overthrew many of the cavalry of his opponents. Malik Kasim Barid i Mamalik also fought bravely with the left wing and killed numbers of the enemy, and the warriors and active Khurasanis, who were posted in the centre, fought with much valour and killed

many of the enemy. Sultān Kuli Khawāṣṣ Khān Hamadāni (who afterwards became entitled Kntb-ul-Mulk, and ascended to the highest of the steps of dignity and greatness),⁵¹ with Ḥasan Turk Sultāni, showed such valour in that battle that he out-did Rustam and Isfandyār. Malik Dinar Dastār-i Mamālik, who was the leader of the opposing forces, was taken prisoner by Majlis-i Rafi' 'Ādil Khān; and the rest of the wretched and contemptible rabble, withdrawing from the field, took to flight; and half of them managed with much difficulty to escape.

After this defeat of his enemies, the Sultān dismounted and gave thanks to God; and the *amīrs* and *khāns* making their obeisance, congratulated the Sultān on his victory. Majlis-i Rafi' 'Ādil Khān in the assembly of *maliks*, *khāns*, *amīrs* and nobles, placing his head on the ground of submission, entreated the Sultān to pardon Malik Dinar. The Sultān lending a favourable ear to the request of 'Ādil Khān, pardoned his enemy, and ordered that all his property in money and goods, whatever the troops had carried off, should be restored to him.

After that, the Sultān, with his victorious army, marched towards Kalburgā and Sagar, and, chastising his adversaries there with the sword, freed the subjects and inhabitants of that part of the country from the evils of sedition and injustice. His troops laid siege to the fort of Sagar and took it by force. From that place the Sultān moved towards his capital, Bidar; and, on his arrival there, the *shekh*s, *ulamā* and learned men hurried forth to meet him; and having made their obeisance, each of them, according to his rank, was distinguished by royal favours.

When the Sultān had taken up his abode in the capital, he turned the light of his justice, kindness, benevolence and favour — like the sun at mid-day — on his subjects and all the inhabitants of the country; and tyranny, oppression, ruin and desolation he changed into justice, equity, prosperity and cultivation.

⁵¹ He afterwards founded the Kntb Shāhi Dynasty of Golkonda. According to the *Turkh-i Muhammad Kntb Shāhi*, this victory was chiefly due to the personal exertions of Kuli Kntb-ul-Mulk, and his services on this occasion were rewarded by his being appointed governor of the province of Telengāna, with the title of Amīr-ul-Umrā

In this year⁵² Bahādur Gilāni, who after Kishwar Khān Khwājah Jahāni, had taken into his own possession the country of the Konkan Dabhol, Goa and all the ports and coast-line of the Dakhan, and had collected a large army. Several ships freighted with valuable property and Arab horses, belonging to Sultān Mahmūd Gujarāti and his merchants, had come into ports which were in his possession, and, having tyrannically seized them, he looted the whole of the cargoes of the ships. Sultān Mahmūd Gujarāti sent a *farmān* about this to Bahādur Gilāni, demanding the restitution of the ships and their cargoes. In reply to this Bahādur Gilāni used intemperate language, and sent back nothing. Having no other resource, Sultān Mahmūd Gujarāti sent an ambassador with many presents to the court of Sultān Mahmūd Bahmani, and sent by his hands a letter concerning the high-handed conduct of Bahādur Gilāni, to the following effect:—

“For a long time a strong friendship has existed between our dynasties, and, moreover, the friendship which existed between our ancestors has descended by heritage to their progeny. At this time Bahādur Gilāni, the servant of Kishwar Khān Khwājah Jahāni — who is seated in the place of Kishwar Khān, and who has shut in his own face the doors of obedience and subjection⁵³ —

⁵² The year is not stated, but we see from Firishah that it was A. H. 899 (A. D. 1493)

The late minister, Mahmūd Gāwān Khwājah Jahān, was a native of Gilān — a province of Persia (vide p. 163) — and seems to have surrounded himself by his own countrymen. Bahādur Gilāni was doubtless one of these countrymen. This Kishwar Khān is not mentioned elsewhere, but one can see from his name that he was a *protégé* of the late Khwājah Jahān's. He seems to have been governor of the Konkan and that part of the kingdom formerly governed by Khālf Hasan Malik ut-Tajir, and was succeeded in that government by Bahādur Gilāni. The latter broke into rebellion on hearing of the unjust execution of his patron (see Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, pp. 217-19, where the cause of Bahādur Gilāni's hostility to Gujarat is explained), and but for this quarrel with Gujarat, would probably have succeeded in founding a kingdom for himself as it was, he exercised independent sway, unchecked for thirteen years, over the whole of the Konkan, besides holding several districts and forts of the Dakhan — such as Sātārā, Pānālā, Miraj and Jamkhadi.

⁵³ From this it appears that Kishwar Khān was the legitimate governor of the Konkan province, and Bahādur Gilāni a subordinate under him, but Bahādur Gilāni ousted Kishwar Khān, and then broke into rebellion. The words of the text are:—

در بدو وقت بهادر کبلائی چاکر کشور خان حواحه جہانی کہ نحائی
کشور خان نشستم و ادوام اطاعت و انقیاد بر روی خود دست

has taken possession of all the sea ports and fortresses of the coast of the kingdom of the Dakhan from Dabhol, Gor, Barbol,⁶⁴ Chandan Wandhan, Satarî and Panalî⁶⁵ to Miraj, Jamkhandl, etc. In the excess of his presumption he has hoisted the standard of rebellion, and has forcibly taken possession of twenty ships laden with various goods, jewels, cloths and thorough bred horses, and seized the merchants also. Not content even with this he has sent to the port of Mâhim [Bombay] 200 ships and *ghurâbs* filled with his tyrannical army, levelled that place with the ground, burned several *Kurâns* and *mayuds*, thrown into the sea most of the merchants of the country, and having made prisoners of two *amirs* of Gujarât, who were in the port at the time, has carried them off with him. When I heard this news I wrote and sent to him a *farman* on the subject, and he sent an excessively rebellious reply. As he is one of the servants of Your Majesty's court, it seemed necessary to bring to your hearing the detailed circumstances of his rebellion, in order that you might arrange to drive away that abandoned rebel, for his expulsion is an absolute necessity, from religious as well as from worldly motives. If you do not undertake to repulse him from your direction, then give me leave and I shall chastise him from my side."

When the Sultân had heard the contents of the letter of Sultân Mahmûd of Gujarât, he said — "The driving away of that synopsis of the lords of rebellion and sedition is absolutely necessary. For the sake of my own peace of mind that man of evil disposition must, by some means or other, be chastised as an example to others." But it occurred to the royal mind that in the first instance the ears of the understanding of Bahâdur Gilânî should be weighted by the pearls of kingly exhortation and admonition, then if he did not act according to orders, but persisted in opposition, he should be handed over to the executioner. A letter to the following effect was therefore written to Bahâdur Gilânî according to the Sultân's orders —

"Be it known to you that a letter has arrived from Sultân Mahmûd Gujarâtî, containing such and such matters, on hearing which the king was much astonished. It is necessary that

⁶⁴ Not identified. Perhaps Dapoli.

⁶⁵ An isolated hill fort a few miles from Kolhâpur.

immediately upon receipt of this royal *farmān*, you shall send to the royal court all the goods belonging to Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī and his merchants, and send the ships back by sea. Do not on any account put your foot beyond your own blanket ⁵⁶. The prisoners with the elephants and goods, are to be handed over to the deputy of the court. Show no delay or negligence of any kind, and in future do not open on yourself the door of sedition and trouble, nor set your foot on the road of rebellion and ingratitude.

When the royal mandate had been written and despatched to Bahādur Gilīnī, the Sultān ordered eloquent secretaries to write in elegant language a reply to the letter of Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī. According to orders, the secretaries wrote a letter in exceedingly ornate language, the substance of which was as follows —

"From the olden days a strong friendship and unanimity has existed between our two dynasties, and the relations were such that the enemies of this State were also the enemies of your dynasty, and on the other hand the same was the case with the friends of each. On this account a *farmān* has been sent to Bahādur Gilīnī if he obeys it and sends to you the property, elephants, cloths and ships, he will be secure, otherwise the flame of my world consuming wrath shall burn up the harvest of his life, and he and his followers shall be given to the wind of destruction. What necessity is there for Your Majesty to send an army against him?"

When the answer to Sultān Mahmūd's letter was written, the Gujarātī ambassador was given permission to return, taking with him rarities and presents innumerable.

But when Bahādur Gilīnī heard of the coming of the Sultān's *farmān* to him, he sent a person to stop the messengers on the road, and not to allow them to go on and show the Sultān's *farmān*. The messengers then wrote to court an account of what had happened to them, and the rebellious conduct of Bahādur Gilīnī. When the Sultān was informed of the open rebellion of Bahādur Gilīnī, he issued an order that the royal troops from all quarters should proceed to the court, and in accordance with orders, from every town and fortress, immense numbers of troops marched towards the royal court and mustered there.

⁵⁶ I. e., mind your own business

has taken possession of all the sea ports and fortresses of the coast of the kingdom of the Dakhan from Dabhol, Gov, Barbol⁵⁴ Chandan Wandhan, Satira and Pnnali⁵⁵ to Miraj, Jamkhandl etc In the excess of his presumption he has hoisted the standard of rebellion, and has forcibly taken possession of twenty ships laden with various goods, jewels, cloths and thorough bred horses, and seized the merchants also Not content even with this he has sent to the port of Mahim [Bombay] 200 ships and *ghurabs* filled with his tyrannical army, levelled that place with the ground, burned several *Kurāns* and *masjids* thrown into the sea most of the merchants of the country, and having made prisoners of two *amirs* of Gujarat, who were in the port at the time, has carried them off with him When I heard this news I wrote and sent to him a *farman* on the subject, and he sent an excessively rebellious reply As he is one of the servants of Your Majesty's court, it seemed necessary to bring to your hearing the detailed circumstances of his rebellion, in order that you might arrange to drive away that abandoned rebel, for his expulsion is an absolute necessity, from regions as well as from worldly motives If you do not undertake to repulse him from your direction, then give me leave and I shall chastise him from my side."

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"Be it known to you that a letter has arrived from Sultān Mahmud Gujarati, containing such and such matters on hearing which the king was much astonished It is necessary that

⁵⁴ Not identified. Perhaps Dajoli

⁵⁵ An isolated hill fort a few miles from Kolhapur

immediately upon receipt of this royal *firmán* you shall send to the royal court all the goods belonging to Sultán Mahmúd Gujarátí and his merchants, and send the ships back by sea. Do not on any account put your foot beyond your own blanket⁵⁶. The prisoners, with the elephants and goods, are to be handed over to the deputy of the court. Show no delay or negligence of any kind, and in future do not open on yourself the door of sedition and trouble, nor set your foot on the road of rebellion and ingratitude.

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⁵⁶ I. e., mind your own business.

After that the Sultan mounted his horse and marched with his army towards Mangalberah [Mangalvedhâ] ⁵⁷ In due time the Sultan arrived at Mangalvedhâ — a fort, the towers and walls of which Bahādur Gilnī had, with much trouble and tyranny, constructed of hard stone, and had committed the defence of the fortress to a numerous force of cavalry and infantry. Notwithstanding the strength of the fortress, immediately upon the arrival of the royal army, the defenders were overpowered with terror. Abandoning the fort they took to flight, and the royal troops without trouble or difficulty took that fort which in strength was like the azure vault. The Sultan assigned the fort on feudal tenure to Masnad 1 'Alī Fakhr-ul-Mulk, and from there he marched towards the fort of Jamkhāndī. Bahādur Gilnī at this time was engaged in besieging this fort, but when he obtained information of the arrival of the royal army, he abandoned the siege, and through fear of the royal army, thinking caution necessary, he withdrew into hiding.

Makaddam Nā'ik, when relieved from the difficult affair of the siege, setting out with followers, dependants, cavalry and retinue, hastened to the royal court and was enrolled among the special servants of the State and distinguished by kingly favours.

At this time Malik Sultan Kulī Hamadnī, who was entitled Khawis ⁵⁸ Khan, being approved of by the Sultan, was exalted to the title of "Kutb-ul Mulk," and the towns of Kotāghir and Durg ⁵⁹ and several villages were given to him on feudal tenure. Abū Khan, son in law of Ulugh Khan Jan Begī, making himself commander of the right wing took the title of Haidar Khan, and had the town of Patri and the Nānder direction, besides other places, conferred on him on feudal tenure. And having given the title of Abū Khan to Malik Muhammad, son of Ulugh Khan, the Sultan marched towards Mubarakābād Mirāj. At that time the *wālī* of that place was an infidel named Būnah, ⁶⁰ who had about 1,00,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. In attendance on the royal stirrup,

⁵⁷ Scott makes a curious and very confusing mistake in calling this place 'Mangalore' — Scott's *Ferishta* Vol I pp 130 and 132 4to ed.

⁵⁸ درکی — not identified. This Kutb ul Mulk shortly afterwards founded the Kutb 'Alī Dynasty.

⁵⁹ This name is variously written Būnah, Pūnah and Būlah. I cannot say which is the correct spelling. Briggs writes it Pota.

on behalf of Sultān Ahmad Nizām-ul Mulk, were Zarif ul Mulk Afghān and other *amirs* beside him who were sent for the purpose, and on behalf of Majlis-i 'Alī Bāth-Ullāh 'Imad-ul Mulk of exalted dignity was Daryā Khān — the greatest of the *khāns* of the time — with 2,000 men. There was also Majlis-i Rāfi 'Adil Khān with the whole of his troops, and the whole of the Habshi, Turkī and Dakhanī *amirs* and *cazirs* were in attendance on the Sultān. Though several of the Turks and intrepid Dakhanis secretly sympathised with the blood thirsty Bahādur, yet, through fear of the Sultān, they did not hasten to show it.

The royal army surrounded the fort of Miraj, and engagements used to take place daily, till the son of Būnah Nā'ik, the governor of Miraj, was killed. Būnah Nā'ik and his followers then, becoming terrified at the assaults of the royal army, cried for quarter, and their agreeing to give a reasonable amount of money, Arab horses and elephants was made the condition on which their freedom was granted and their lives spared. Būnah and his followers went forth from the fortress, and had the honour of kissing the ground before the Sultān, and were made content with kingly favours and courtesies; and through the infinite kindness of the Sultān all the people of Miraj obtained security for their lives and the lives of their families. The troops of Bahādur Gilāni who were in that fort were given the option of accepting pay and service under the Sultān's government or going to join the misguided Bahādur. Of that band, each one who accepted service under the State was distinguished by rewards and kingly courtesies, and all who elected to join Bahādur were given permission to depart with their horses and arms. In truth never have any of the kings of the world shown such mercy and kindness as he who after defeating his enemies gave permission to depart, and sent on to his opponents 2,000 cavalry of the enemy with their horses and arms.

The tyrant Bahādur after hearing this news was much confounded, and coming forth from Dābhul, hid himself in the uncultivated country and jungle. He then sent to the royal court Khwājah Ni'mat-Ullah Yazdī (who was Malik at Tujjār of that province) to make terms with the Sultān. Khwājah Ni'mat-Ullah taking with him a written agreement from Bahādur, in which the latter promised to abstain from opposition and rebellion, hastened to the royal presence, where he had the honour of kissing the ground, and

was treated with much kindness and courtesy. The Sultan in his infinite mercy and kindness lent a favourable ear to the requests of Khwajah Ni'mat Ullah. He consigned to Bahādur the whole of the territory of which he was in possession, and drew the pen of forgiveness through the volumes of his crimes on condition that he restored the property and elephants of the Sultan of Gujarat and the goods of the merchants, also that he should send a reasonable sum of money each year without delay or negligence to the public treasury and in future not practise tyranny or sedition or become a traveller on the road of rebellion and resistance.

Khwajah Ni'mat Ullah having obtained the completion of his wishes, took his leave of the Sultan and proceeded towards the fortress of Kalhar [Kharah ?]. After that, Bahādur Gilani at the suggestion of the devil got a perverse idea into his head, evil impulses made him proud and threw him off the right track of obedience and subjection, and the agreement he had made through Khwajah Ni'mat Ullah he considered as though it did not exist. The fortresses which he held on feudal tenure he garrisoned with experienced veteran troops and the whole of his army and followers he gratified by increased rewards, then making the jungle his own fortress he took up his abode there. When the Sultan heard of the flight of Bahādur into the jungle and uncultivated country he ordered Dīlwar Khān Habsli and 'Ain ul Mulk Turk with 5,000 cavalry armed with spears and 1,00,000 well armed infantry to lay siege to the fortress of Kalhar and not fail to take it. He sent 7,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry under the command of several celebrated *amirs* to seize the towns and districts of that province, and he himself with all the *amirs* and *warres* went after Bahādur, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the jungle in which that evil doer remained and had concealed himself by a hundred artifices. When the Sultan had remained a long time in that place Bahādur's predestined moment drew near, the jungle became his prison, and the claws of the falcon *Shah*⁴⁰ seized him by the collar and drew him out of that jungle. The eye of his judgment became sightless and unable to discern the advisable course, consequently, with the intention of fighting, he left the jungle for the open country. When the spies reported to the Sultan that the base rebel had come out of the jungle, he directed

⁴⁰The period or end of life. The predestined moment d al

Fakhr ul Mulk with his eldest son, Ratan Khān, and Zarf ul Mulk Afghān (one of the *amirs* of Sultan Ahmad Bihri Nūr ul Mulk, who had come to the assistance of the Sultan) with 3,000 brave spearmen to oppose the ungrateful Bahādur. And he gave strict injunctions to the *amirs* that if they should catch Bahādur they should refrain from killing him, and bring him alive to the foot of the throne. But since the measure of the life of that unworthy one was brimful, the period of his security had expired, and the orders as to sparing his life were of no avail. According to orders the *amirs* and brave troops of the Sultan proceeded towards that synopsis of the lords of rebellion, and the two armies, eager for the fray, met in the neighbourhood of that jungle, and an engagement ensued.

The bark of Bahādur's life fell into the whirlpool of destruction and death, and all his valour availed not to prevent it. In the midst of the battle he was engaged in single combat with Ratan Khān, who was the Bastion of the age, and they stained the dust of the battle-field with one another's blood, but the royal good fortune aiding him, Ratan Khān overcame his antagonist, and with his spear he dragged Bahādur from his saddle and threw him to the ground, so that he resigned his soul to its Creator. Ratan Khān then cut off the rebel's head and threw his body on the ground; thus freeing the world from his sedition.

When Ratan Khān cut off the rebel's head and sent it to the royal court, the Sultan exhibited much regret, for Bahādur Ghāni in manliness and bravery was unrivalled. In the presence of the court assembly the Sultan said:—'Would to heaven he had been caught alive! that I might have pardoned his crimes and given him back his government—it is a pity that so brave a man should be killed.' After that, in accordance with orders, the head of that tyrant was sent to the capital, Bidar, and despatches announcing the victory were sent in all directions. This event happened on the 5th Safar, A. H. 900 (5th November, A. D. 1494).

After the mind of the Sultan was freed from anxiety regarding Bahādur, he marched with his army towards the fort of Panhālā, which is situate on the summit of a hill. In loftiness its towers rivalled the heavens, and the battlements of its portico used to hoist of superiority to the seventh heaven.

Notwithstanding its elevation, the fort had a very extensive, beautiful and pleasant open space inside the fortress with abundance of good water, trees and fruits innumerable and much cultivation

When the victorious standards of the Sultân appeared round that fort, the garrison, being unable to resist the attack of the royal army, asked for quarter and a written treaty of favourable terms. The Sultân gave them hopes of their obtaining favourable terms, and the *mukaddam* of the fortress delivered the keys to the servants of the court. The Sultân, for the purpose of viewing the fort, ascended the hill and gave thanks to God that such a fortress had been taken without trouble. The Sultân with much booty and countless treasure then descended from the fortress to the foot of the hill, and ordered his army to proceed to Bijapur, whilst he himself with some of his favourite *amirs* and intimate companions went to see the Port of Mustafâ-Âbâd Dabhol.

When he arrived there he conferred many favours and kindnesses on his subjects and the people of that place, and having spent several days in the happiness of viewing the sea-coast and the gardens of that country he bestowed several of Bahâdur Gîlânî's districts on Sultân Ahmad Bahrî Nizâm ol Mulk, some on Mahmûd Khwâjah Jahân, and the remainder he gave on fendal tenure to Malik Ilyâs Turk, and it was arranged that he should send to the public treasury each year the sum of ten *laks* of *tanakâh*, and, living in a manner the reverse of Bahâdur Gîlânî, should not become a traveller on the paths of sedition.

After that, the Sultân proceeded towards his capital, and, stopping in the town of Miraj, divided among his troops the booty which he had collected in that country and in that war. He then returned with his army to the capital, and those *amirs* who had accompanied him on that occasion, such as Daryâ Khan, son of Malik Fath Ullah 'Imâd ol Mulk, and Dilâwar Khan Habshi and Zarif-ol-Mulk Afghân — one of the *amirs* of Sultân Ahmad Bahrî Nizâm-ol Mulk — he distinguished by handsome robes of honour and numerous dignities, after which he dismissed them to their own districts.

In the beginning of the year 903⁶¹ (A D 1497) from the abundance of royal favours conferred on him, the power of Sultân Kuli Kuth-ul-Mulk Hamadânî being much augmented, and he becoming

⁶¹ 902, according to Firishtâ.

distinguished above all his equals, obtained suzerainty over all the feudatory chiefs of Tehgana — such as Juhingir Khin, Singur Khan, Kiwam ul Mulk, Ullugh Khin, Muḥṣab Khin and others besides — and added to his former possessions the towns of Warangal⁶² and Kovilakonḍā with their dependencies. In these days perverse ideas again found their way into the brains of several rebels — such as the young Yusuf, Rājā Khan Kinnanjī, Muhammad Ādam, Kabīr Yaghrash Khan and others beside them who had procured the favour of the Sultān — and they entered into a compact with one another for the purpose of exterminating the Turks. Mirzadah Shams ud Din Ni'mat Ullāh (who of all the members of the assembly was most nearly related to the royal family) became a confidant of theirs in this affair. But before their seditious ideas could be carried into action the Turkī *amirs* obtained information of the conspiracy, and according to the saying that "A misfortune should be remedied before its occurrence,"⁶³ they took the initiative by going in a body to the royal court, and the foolish Yaghrash Khan with the whole of the other conspirators, who were off their guard in their own houses were summoned to the court and put to death. Mirzā Shams-ud-Dīn Ni'mat-Ullāhī was also put to death as an accomplice of those misguided people. As much disturbance arose in the city and fortress the Sultān went up into the Shah Burj, and shut the doors of entrance and exit. The Turkī *amirs* sent some one to summon Shāh Muḥabb Ullāh. They brought him into the court of the Sultān, and in his presence they emphatically swore, saying — 'These slaves, with regard to the Sultān, except devotion and obedience, have no thought in their hearts, and have no idea whatever of rebellion against the Sultān. Not like that clique of intriguers who had thoughts of rebellion in their hearts, and who allowed thoughts of deception to enter their minds, on which account we brought them to punishment. We are the same servants of the court of the king as we have always been.'

Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh then waited on the Sultān, and repeated their speech to him *verbatim*, and the Sultān extinguished the fire of that sedition and disturbance, but his kingly authority both in the distant and near parts of the dominions died out. Each of the *amirs* in his own district proclaimed his independence, and shut in

⁶² Written Karangul in the text but it is evidently a mistake

⁶³ *As plene*, 'Prevention is better than cure'

his own face the door of obedience and submission. The government of the kingdom of the Dakhn now devolved on Masnad : Ali Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk, and the Sultan, as in former days, again treated that intrepid servant with much kindness and graciousness and now increased his rank above that of all the other *amirs* and *wazirs* by making him *amir ul umra* of the whole of the dominions of Telingana. At this period he also removed the provinces of Bijapur and Mangalvedhi and their dependencies from the possession of Malik Khudaidul Khwajah Jahin and consigned them to Majlis : Rafi Malik Yusuf Turk 'Adil Khan. The *pirganah* of Ausa and Kandhar, as in former times, was held in *jajir* by Masnad : Ali Malik Kasim Barid-i Mamalik, and there was much quarrelling and opposition between him and the other *amirs* of the districts, and now, when Barid-i Mamalik was in the fort of Ausa, the *amirs* thinking it a good opportunity, represented to the Sultan that he was continually in opposition to this dynasty and that it would be advisable to crush him before he could : use in insurrection. Although this was contrary to the good pleasure of the Sultan, yet on account of his affection for the Turki *amirs* he could not act upon that advice, for at this time the Sultan had not much power in the affairs of the kingdom.

Of necessity, in the latter part of Zi ul Hijjah A H 906 (June, A D 1500), the Sultan, with the *wazirs* of the capital and his brave troops, moved from the capital and laid siege to the fort of Ausa. Some of the *amirs* who outwardly were on the side of the Sultan but who were secretly in alliance with Barid-i Mamalik hastened to make their obeisance to the Sultan. After the expiration of the month of Muharram, the Sultan, with the dissembling *amirs* as well as those who were really on his side, mounted with the intention of battle and surrounded the fortress of Ausa, but in the midst of the fighting the dissembling *amirs* left the Sultan and joined Barid-i Mamalik. Consequently the greatest slackness found its way into the royal army, and then ranks were broken. Malik Sultan Kuli Kutb-ul-Mulk took the road of Telingana, and 'Adil Khan also turned towards his own province. When Malik Kasim Barid-i Mamalik obtained information of the dispersal of the Sultan's army, thinking it a favourable opportunity, he hastened to do homage to the Sultan and with him proceeded towards Bidar. By order of the Sultan he then again assumed the government of the capital Bidar.

After the lapse of one year, the *amirs* again becoming disgusted with the government of Barid-i Mamâlik, as on the former occasion, the idea of his extermination became fixed in their minds so they united together, and, after making great preparations turned towards the capital, Bidar. Among the greatest of the *amirs* who at that time went to the capital were Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk and Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others besides. When the Sultân heard of the approach of the *amirs* bent upon eradicating Barid-i Mamâlik, he sent to them Majlis-i Mukram Khân Khân-i Jahân, Malik ul-'Ulumâ Sadr-i Jahân, Sayyid Khâtib and all the learned men in order that after ascertaining the cause of their coming and the motive of their leaguings together, the affair might be settled amicably. When the above mentioned company, according to the Sultân's orders arrived in the assembly of the *amirs* and delivered their message, the *amirs* heard their words, and after some controversy it was resolved that each of the *amirs* and *maliks* should hasten to his own district, and that Barid-i Mamâlik also should go to Ausâ and Kandhar, which was his district, and that once in each year the whole of the *amirs* and *warirs* should come to the royal court and join in a *jihâd* against the idolaters of Vijayâ-nagar, and, hoisting the standards of Islâm, should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants. A treaty containing many terms to this effect was then drawn up, and at the request of Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân 20,000 horses of the country were added to the *jâgir* of Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk. After that, the *amirs*, having kissed the Sultân's feet and been presented with robes of honour and other distinctions, obtained permission to depart. Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân hastened to Bijâpur Kânara and made it his capital; while Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk Hamadâni took up his abode in the town of Golkondâ.

In the middle of the year 908 (A. D. 1502) the Sultân, in accordance with the agreement, being resolved on waging a *jihâd* against the infidels, marched out of the capital, Bidar, with the *amirs* and his victorious army. He had then with him, of Turks, foreigners and Dakhanis not more than 5,000 horse and 30,000 veteran infantry, but when he pitched his camp at Arkî,⁶⁴ Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk joined him with 500 Arab cavalry, thirty elephants and 5,000 foot. The Sultân received him with kingly comtesy,

⁶⁴ Or Arkî. Probably Pargîs merant

and added that town to all his other feudal lands. When the royal army marched from there and encamped at Ankûr,⁶⁵ Majlis i Rafi' 'Âdil Khân joined the royal camp with 5,000 Turkî, Khurâsânî and Dakhanî horse, 6,000 infantry armed with spears, and fifteen elephants. Dastûr-i Mamâlik also joined with 3,000 horse, 3,000 foot, and forty elephants.

When the army marched from that place a royal order was issued that Masnad i 'Âli 'Ain ul Mulk with his force should go on in advance into the Vijayanagar territory by way of Kalhar⁶⁶ and Kôlhapur, and over-running the territory of the infidels strike terror into their hearts. 'Ain ul-Mulk, according to the orders, proceeded with 5 000 horse, 50 000 foot and eighty elephants.⁶⁷ The Sultan subsequently marched from that place and encamped within sight of the fortress of Râyschûr. The garrison being terrified at the assaults of the royal army tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute in order to get immunity from plunder. They also agreed to surrender to the servants of the court the revenues of the fort of Modgal which in former times they had farmed from the agents of the Sultan, but which hitherto they had failed to pay into the public treasury, also some *parganahs* of Râyschûr which they had forcibly taken from the royal troops. The Sultan bestowed these *parganahs* on Majlis i Rafi' 'Âdil Khân, and on 'Ain ul Mulk and the other *amîrs* and generals he bestowed robes of honour, and gave them leave to depart. The Sultan then returned to the capital.

When the *amîrs* and *malîks*, according to the Sultan's orders, turned towards their own districts, and the Sultan with his troops and some of the *amîrs* of the foot of the throne returned to the capital, Malik Barid i Mamâlik, thinking it a good opportunity, with the *amîrs* already in alliance with him had dispersed and routed a body of the royal troops, and then turning towards the capital, entered the city on the 9th of Zi ul Hijjah⁶⁸ and laid siege to the fortress. After some days the people of the fortress, siding with

⁶⁵ Or Angûr. Probably Atakûr is meant.

⁶⁶ Probably Karûd. There must be some mistake in this for he could not have reached Vijayanagar territory through these places without making an immense detour afterwards.

⁶⁷ The number of infantry and elephants in 'Ain ul Mulk's force must be very much over-stated for the total strength of the combined forces as given above was 13 500 cavalry 44 000 infantry and 85 elephants.

⁶⁸ The year (though not here stated) was 968 = 5th June, A. D. 1563.

Barid : Mamâlik, opened the gates, and Barid : Mamâlik then entered the fort and put to death Khân : Jahân who at that time had superseded him in the government. He then once more without opposition became firmly seated on the throne of government of the capital of the Dakhan.

When the news of Barid : Mamâlik's usurpation of absolute authority reached the *amîrs* and *malîks* of the different parts of the dominions, they did not assent to this, and took counsel together in order to overthrow the foundations of his sovereignty and eradicate the young plant of his power. In the beginning of the year 909 (A. D. 1503) Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, Masnad : 'Âlî Malik Kntb-ul Mulk, Masnad : 'Âlî Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others beside them formed an alliance with one another and marched towards the capital. When they arrived near the capital the Sultan *nolens volens* resolved upon war with them, and hoisting his standard endeavoured to repel the hostile *amîrs*. When the two forces met a great battle took place. Finally the hostile army prevailed over that of the king, and Haidar Khân the commander was killed in the action. When Barid : Mamâlik saw the state of affairs he took to flight and went to his own districts. When Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, Masnad : 'Âlî Malik Kntb-ul Mulk and all the other *amîrs* heard of the flight of Malik Barid, which was their chief object in this war with him, they hastened to wait on the Sultan and were presented with special robes of honour, then taking their leave, each of them after obtaining the completion of his wishes, returned to his own district.

In the middle of this year (909) it occurred to the mind of Majlis : Rafî' 'Âdil Khân to arrange a marriage between one of his daughters and one of the royal princes, so as to strengthen his position by the bonds of relationship. Accordingly he rolled up the secret of his mind in a letter which he sent to the Sultan. The latter lent a favourable ear to the request of 'Âdil Khân, and in order to make arrangements for the nuptial entertainment marched towards Ahsanâbad Kalburgâ with the principal *amîrs* and his troops. When he arrived at this celebrated place Malik Kntb-ul Mulk hastened to the royal presence. On the third day Majlis : Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Malik 'Ain ul Mulk paid their respects to the Sultan, and the latter hoisting his standard made preparations for the nuptial entertainment.

In the midst of the royal hospitality and entertainment Malik Barid i Mamalik and Malik Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân obtained the happiness of kissing the ground before the Sultân in Kalburga. As a cordial hatred existed between Majlis i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Barid i Mamalik, Dastûr-i Mamalik, on account of a grudge which he had against Majlis i Rafî', allied himself with Barid i Mamalik, and with his army joined the camp of the latter and Khwâjah Jahân. Majlis i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Masud i 'Âlî Malik 'Ain ul Mulk then joined together against Malik Barid i Mamalik and his adherents. Again the doors of contention among the *amirs* were opened afresh, and the young plant of enmity sprouted up in the climate of hypocrisy. The Sultân at this time, on account of the relationship by marriage with Majlis i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, took the part of the latter and treated him with favour.

War broke out between the two forces, and the table-cloth of entertainment and hospitality was folded up. For about two or three months the fires of slaughter blazed up between the two armies. At last Malik Ilyas 'Ain ul Mulk was killed by one of the soldiers of Malik Barid, and after that the fire of contention and war became extinguished.

After the death of 'Ain ul Mulk, the Sultân, in order to secure possession of his district, proceeded to Miraj and Panhala. Malik Barid with his eldest son, Jshûngir Khân, and Khwâjah Jahân with his eldest son, Malik ul Tujjâr (who before that was known as Ratan Khan) and Dastûr-i Mamalik Malik Dinâr marched to Bîdar and laid siege to that fortress. When the Sultan after taking possession of the district of 'Ain ul Mulk, returned to the capital, Barid i Mamalik and his *wazirs* obtained information of his approach and hastened out to meet him. Masud i 'Âlî Barid i Mamalik and the remaining *amirs* made their obeisance and were received with royal favour, and attended the Sultan to the capital. The Sultan conferred on Malik Barid i Mamalik the title of Majlis-i Mukarram Hamîyun Na'ib i Barik, and increased his rank beyond that of Majlis i Karim Khwâjah Jahân, and again consigned to him the government of the capital.

In the year 916 (A. D. 1510) discord and contention arose between Majlis i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Dastûr-i Mamalik on account of an old quarrel, and as Dastûr-i Mamalik was not strong enough to oppose Majlis i Rafî', he put his trust in the protection and

favour of Sultān Ahmad Bahri Nizām al Mulk and took refuge at his court. This celebrated prince, thinking it incumbent on him to assist that unfortunate one, took up arms in his cause and marched with his army towards the province of Majlis : Rafi'. When the latter heard of the movement of this army, feeling himself unable to oppose them he took refuge at the court of the Sultān. He entirely forbade Majlis : Rafi' Ādil Khan to quarrel with Dastur-i Mamalik. Majlis : Rafi', according to orders made a compact that in future he would become a traveller on the road of friendship and unity with Dastur-i Mamalik, and not traverse the valley of perverseness and sedition. After that, the Sultan sent to that prince of men [Sultān Ahmad Bahri] a *farman* full of affection and kindness, together with numerous presents, and told him how he had prohibited Majlis : Rafi' from quarrelling with Dastur-i Mamalik, and related to him circumstantially the agreement made by Majlis : Rafi'. The prince conformably with his desire returned to the seat of government.

In the end of the year 912 (A. D. 1506) on account of Majlis : Rafi' Ādil Khan the dust of vexation settled on the mirror of the mind of the Sultan for this reason he gave orders for summoning Malik Saltan Kulī Kath-ul Mulk. When the latter heard the contents of the *farman*, he hastened to the court and made his obeisance. By the Sultan's orders another *farman* to the following effect, was sent to summon Masnad : Āli Malik 'Imad ul Mulk. — "In these days the demon of sedition and rebellion has carried Ādil Khan off the straight road of obedience and submission to this court, and has placed his foot in the desert of ingratitude. It is necessary that immediately upon receipt of this *farman* you shall come with all speed, and arrange the affairs of the government and the army and the subjects in accordance with the wishes of the Sultan."

As Malik 'Imad ul Mulk on the whole showed negligence and want of haste in attending at the royal court, having no other resource the Sultan with Malik Kath-ul Mulk and all the celebrated *amirs*, hoisted his standard. When the Sultan arrived within sight of Kalam, Malik 'Imad ul Mulk made his obeisance to him there. Malik 'Imad ul Mulk and all the *amirs* becoming the advocates of Majlis : Rafi' on his behalf made smooth the preliminaries of obedience and submission, then the dust of vexation which had settled

on the Sultan's heart was obliterated by the polisher of intercession. The Sultan pardoned the offences of Majlis-i Rāfi', and rolled up the carpet of war and contention. The *amirs* and generals in attendance on the Sultan returned with him to the capital and on arrival there he turned his attention to the affairs of Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk, Malik 'Imād ul Mulk and all the other *amirs* and *maliks*, he bestowed on them valuable robes of honour and other presents, and gave them permission to depart to their respective districts.

After that, Malik Fath Ullāh 'Imād ul Mulk died in Elchpur, and Majlis-i Rāfi' 'Adil Khān died within sight of Kovalakonḍā.⁶⁹ The Sultan conferred the title of 'Adil Khān and the province belonging to Majlis-i Rāfi' Malik Ynsuf on Ismā'il, the eldest son of the latter, and also settled on him a quarter of the kingdom of the Dakhan, which had been entrusted to Malik Ynsuf. The affairs of the province of Malik Fath Ullāh 'Imād ul Mulk remained for nearly a year in a state of confusion, for his eldest son, Malik 'Alā ud Din Darya Khān, was a prisoner in the fort of Rāmgīr, but in the year 906 (A. D. 1500)⁷⁰ by the assistance of the son of Khudawind Khān, governor of Māhur, he escaped from the fort of Rāmgīr and reached Gāwīlgadh, and in his father's place took his seat on the throne of government of most of the province of Varhād (Berār). At the entreaty of Ismā'il 'Adil Khān, the Sultan conferred on Malik 'Alā ud Din the title of 'Imād-ul Mulk with the province which had belonged to Malik Fath Ullāh 'Imād ul Mulk. In the same year Malik Khudadād Khwājah Jahan died in the town of Sandlapur [Sholapur?], which belonged to him. As his eldest son, Ratan Khān had died before his father, the Sultan conferred the title of Khwājah Jahan on the younger son, Nur Khān, and added the town of Parendā with its dependencies to his other possessions. Sandlapūr [Sholapur?] which previous to that had belonged to Khwājah Jahan he conferred on Kamal Khān, Ismā'il 'Adil Khān's general.

⁶⁹ There is something palpably wrong in the dates here. Fath Ullāh 'Imād ul Mulk died in 1504. The date of Yusuf Adil Shāh's death is variously given thus according to the author of the *Tabakāt-i Albarī* he died in 1507 according to Firsiht in 1510 and according to Mirzā Rafi' ud-Din Shirāzi and Mir Ibrahim Asad Khān in 1519. Our author says the two died at the same time but omits to mention the date. The last date mentioned is 1506 and here he says 'after that these two kings died.'

⁷⁰ This date is inconsistent with the previous statements.

In the year 920 (A D 1514) the Sultān, by the advice of Majlis-i Rafī 'Ādil Khān marched towards Ahsanābād Kalburgā and took the fortress of Kalburgā by force, and from the fire of rapine and plunder of the conquering army it became like the dust of the road. From this time in the country of the Dakhan the plunder and devastation of the territory of Islām and the Musalmans became a regular custom.

Dastūr-i Mamālik, flying from those perils took refuge with Barid-i Mamālik. The latter met him with the greatest respect, gave him hopes of his assistance and sending a person to Malik Kutb-ul Mulk, strengthened the bonds of friendship with him. In the year 921 (A D 1515)⁷¹ Malik Barid-i Mamālik, Malik Kutb-ul Mulk and Malik Dastūr-i Mamālik Malik Dīnār went to the royal capital and laid siege to the fortress of Bidar. However much the *sayyids*, *shēh's* and learned men strove to arrange the matter peaceably it was of no avail, and Hamid Khān Hahshī the reputed son of Dastūr-i Mamālik, who was inside the fortress, was killed in the fighting. At last 'Āramat ul Mulk—who on behalf of Majlis-i Rafī 'Ādil Khān used to be in attendance on the Sultān—came out and had an interview with Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barid-i Mamālik. With the pure water of exhortations and advice he extinguished the fires of killing and fighting in which they had been engaged, and acted as arbitrator of the supplications and claims of the *amīrs*.

In the month of Jumādī I of the above-mentioned year (921) vexation showed itself between Dastūr-i Mamālik and Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barid-i Mamālik, and the latter in the excess of his impetuosity and anger, marched from Kamtanah⁷² and set out for his own province. At this time the Sultān pardoned the offences of Dastūr-i Mamālik and treated him with royal favours and sent to Majlis-i Rafī 'Ādil Khān a *farman* about pacifying Dastūr-i Mamālik⁷³. He then dismissed the latter to his former *jāgir*,

⁷¹ Our author makes no mention of the death of Kasim Barid, and the succession of his son Amir Barid which—according to Farihtah—occurred in 1504.

⁷² Not identified.

⁷³ There appears to be some confusion here. Dastūr Dīnār's quarrel on this occasion is stated to have been with his old ally Barid yet from this statement it looks as though it were with Ismā'īl Ādil Shāh. There was a quarrel of long standing between these two but it was amicably arranged by the Sultān—the

which was Kalburgi Majlis-i Rāfi obeyed the order of the Sultān and made friends with Dastur-i Mamūlik.

In the midst of these affairs an ambassador from Shāh Ismā'il Husaini Safawi — who had succeeded by inheritance as king of the dominions of Kharasān and 'Irāk and the whole country of Īrān — with many valuable presents, jewels fit for kings and fleet Arab horses arrived at the royal court and had the happiness of kissing the royal vestibule. But as the king and the army were at that time of the Sunni persuasion, and the religion of Shāh Ismā'il was that of the Imām Ja'far-i Sādiq (on whom be the blessing of God, the Creator¹⁴), and the royal crown [*ta*] which he had sent was symbolical of the sect of the Twelve [Imāms], Sultān Mahmūd paid no attention to that ambassador or his presents, and quickly gave him permission to depart.⁷⁴

After these events it occurred to the mind of Azamāt ul Mulk, who as the deputy of Majlis-i Rāfi, was the *wasir* of government, that as Majlis-i-Sharīf Bashīr Khudāwind Khān had placed his foot outside the circle of obedience and used to traverse the valley of rebellion it was advisable to adopt measures to put a stop to his sedition. He accordingly brought the matter to the notice of the Sultān, who summoned Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barid-i Mamūlik in order to take counsel with him. Majlis-i Mukram obeyed the order, and on making his obeisance was distinguished by royal favours. The Sultān asked his advice and assistance in repelling Bashīr Khudāwind Khān. Majlis-i Mukram concurring with the *amirs* and great men as to the necessity for putting down the rebel, a royal order was issued for the assembly of the army. When the army was assembled pursuant to order, the Sultān, in the month of Sha'ban in the year 923 (August, A. D. 1517), marched with it to make war against Bashīr Khudāwind Khān who was the foundatory

¹⁴ The name of this ambassador was Mirzā Ibrāhīm Khān (or according to the *Tibakāt-i Akbarī* Yādgār Beg Kizilbash). He had previously visited the court of Sultān Murāṭ II of Gujarat where he was well received by the king but received very rough treatment there at the hands of Shāhizāda Sultān Mirzā Amīn of Mālwa (vide Bayley's *Gujarāt*, pp. 211-7). After leaving the Bahmanī court he went to that of Sultān Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh who being a bigoted Shi'ah gave him a cordial reception (vide *Farshtab*). From the wording of this passage it appears that the author of the *Burhān-i Ma'dar* was himself a Shi'ah.

For the origin of the *Tāj-i Nasir* and the term *Kizilbash* vide *Joural* of the R. A. S. April 1896 p. 235.

Masnad : 'Alī Imād ul Mulk, Dastur-i Mamālik and others besides of the *amirs* and *maliks*, when they heard of the arrival of the Sultan at the court, started for the capital with an army in numbers beyond computation, and making their obeisance offered their services

When the Sultan found such an army assembled beneath the shadow of his standard, he was seized with the desire of obtaining the happiness of waging a *jihād* against the worshippers of idols, so, for the purpose of overthrowing the idolaters and tyrants, he raised his standard and started from the capital. When the Sultan arrived at Diwāni,⁵ the enemy becoming aware of his approach, prepared for battle and hastened to engage the royal army. A battle then ensued, but suddenly a fatal misfortune occurred to the royal army. The King of Islām, from the centre of the army, which was his post, became separated from the rest, and owing to the thronging of the horses and the running too and fro of the troops fell from his horse, and when the two armies closed they raised so great a dust that friends and opponents were mingled together and could not be distinguished from one another, so no one was aware of what had happened to the Sultan till the blessed herd of that leader with his most pure body was broken and wounded in several places. In the midst of this some of the attendants saw the king, and immediately went to him and brought him out from the midst of the horses, and putting him in a *pālā*, took him to the dwelling of Mirza Lutf Ullah, son of Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh.

When the *amirs* and *grandees* became aware of the Sultan's misfortune, they ceased fighting and repaired to his presence, and seeing the Sultan lamenting and afflicted they shed fountains of blood like the Jāhūn. After that, folding up the carpet of contention and war, they turned towards the capital, and when they arrived in the vicinity of Bidar each of the *amirs* and *grandees*, according to custom, was distinguished by a special robe of honour, and they then turned towards their own districts. Majlis : Mukram Malik Barid : Mamalik did not withdraw from attendance on the Sultan but accompanied him to the capital, and by the Sultan's orders he was again invested with the government of Bidar, and as the Sultan's wounds were such that for nearly a year he could not tie his turban on the top of his head, Malik Barid : Mamalik exercised sovereign sway

⁵ Not identified

The *amirs* of the capital, Bidar, who always resented the government of Majlis-i Mukram looked on the bruises of the Sultân and the supremacy of Malik Barid, thinking that something might happen to the Sultân and that Malik Barid would then lay hands on the royal treasures and take possession of the capital and its dependencies, consequently in each head melancholy forebodings arose, and in each heart secret desires. Day and night their anxiety was by some stratagem to remove Malik Barid from the fortress of the capital.

In the midst of this Shuja'at Khan, who was one of the principal *amirs*, ran away, carrying off with him two female elephants of the Sultân's for which the latter had a special liking. A number of those who complained of the government of Malik Barid represented to the servants of the Sultân that Majlis-i Mukram was the only person who had the power to go in pursuit of Shuja'at Khan, and another advantage in nominating him for the duty was that expediency demanded it. The Sultân, according to their advice, appointed Barid-i Mamâlik to go in pursuit of Shuja'at Khan. Malik Barid went in all haste after Shuja'at Khan, and overtaking him, put him to death, then carrying off the royal elephants with all the horses, baggage and other property of Shuja'at Khan, returned with great pomp and magnificence, and had the honour of kissing the royal vestibule. So each affair that the *amirs* had arranged turned out exactly opposite to their wishes and intentions. Day by day the power of Malik Barid in the affairs of State became greater and greater, till he brought into his own hands the whole of the government and the control of the army and the subjects.

In this interval the Sultân died

* * * * *

This great misfortune, which was the cause of the ruin of the world and the affliction of the human race, occurred on the 24th of Zi ul Hijjah, A. H. 924 (20th December, A. D. 1518). His age was forty seven years and twenty days, and the duration of his reign was thirty seven years and two months.

Although during his reign, in the dominions of the Dakhân, owing to the opposition and quarrelling of the *amirs* and generals, and the numerous plots and the quantity of bloodshed, which were the cause of distress among the people and the desolation of the country, yet as long as this Sultân remained alive, all the *amirs*, *warirs* and *valihs* — notwithstanding their contumaciousness

Index to the Map.

Note. — The letters after the names correspond with those in the borders of the map, and indicate the square in which the name will be found. In this map the compiler has endeavoured to represent the Dakhan as it was in A. D. 1565, shortly after the battle of Talikot.

Adhawini (Adoni) ...	Ff	Bilkonda . . .	Ce
'Aḍḍabid	Gb	Binkot . . .	Bd
Aḥḥālpur	Ed	Birdol	Dd
Aḥmadnagar	Cb	Birsi	De
Ailgandāl (Yelgandāl) ...	He	Bisim	Ia
'Amrīpur	Cc	Bassein (Wāsi, f) .	Ab
Ajanta	Da	Bastūr	Jb
Ājri	Cc	Baswanthaggar ...	Ib
Akalkot	Ed	Bāṭavāl . . .	Io
Ākeri	Ib	Belamkonda ...	Io
Akola . . .	Fa	Belgāon	Cf
Āḥandi	Cc	Bethalvādi	Da
Allūr	Ed	Betigari (Betgere) ..	Df
Almela	Ed	Bhanūr	Ff
Amrīpur	Ea	Bhid	Db
Anagāon	Fe	Bhonīgiri	Gd
Andorī	Ga	Bhor	Bc
Ankālī	Ca	Bhorap	Bc
Antūr	Da	Blām . . .	De
Antūr	Gb	Bichkonda . . .	Fc
Arsūl	Db	Bicholim	Cf
Asīlī (Assaye)	Da	Bidar	Fd
Āshṭī	Cc	Bajīpur	Do
Athud	De	Bitangadh	Bb
Aurangābād	Db	Boḥardhan	Da
Avāḥ	Ec	Buldānā	Ea
Bidimi (ancient Vatīpī- pur)	Df	Barbiniḥād (or Barbini- nagar)	Cb
Bīgalkot	De	Barbīnpur	Gi
Buzvīḍī	Ic	Būshrangadh	Cd
Balālpur . . .	Ib	Chikān	Bc

Chândâ	Ilb	Firūzābād	Ed
Chandan ⁷⁷	Cd	Gadag	Df
Chāndlor	Ca	Gajendragadh	Ef
Chandrāgadh	Bc	Gajvil	Gd
Chandrigiri	Ge	Galgalla	De
Charchan	Dd	Gāndari	Gc
Chāvandh	Bb	Genjantī	Ed
Chétul (Chul)	Ac	Ghanpura	Gc
Chikhlī	Ea	Givará,ī	Db
Chinchlī	Cc	Goa	Bf
Chincholl	Fd	Gogī	Eo
Chindragiri	Hc	Gokūk	Cc
Chinnūr	Hc	Golkonda	Gd
Chintapallī	Ie	Gūbāgadh	Bd
Chiplūr	Bd	Gunjotī (Kinjotī)	Ed
Dābhol	Bd	Guntūr	Ic
Dastāpur	Do	Īāidārābād	Gd
Daglūr	Fc	Īālīāl	Cf
Dāhānu	Ab	Īāsanābād	Fd
Dahivādi	Cd	Īāsanābād	Fd
Damal	Df	Īarichandmgañh	Bb
Dāmān	Aa	Īinganghāt	Ga
Danda-Rājpurī	Bc	Īippargī	Ed
Dārāsko	Ec	Īortī	Dd
Dārūr	Ec	Īubli	Df
Dārūr	Fc	Īukerī	Cc
Daulatabad (or Devagiri).	Db	Īungund	Eo
Dāvākoṇḍa	Ff	Īachalkaranjī	Co
Dāvāleshvaram	Ju	Īndāpur	De
Dāvalghāt	Ea	Īndrakōṇḍa	Hd
Devarakoṇḍa	Ge	Īndūr	Gc
Devgaḍh	Bo	Īngalgī (properly Īūgalīgī)	Ee
Dhanūr	Ea	Īagdālpur	Jb
Dhārwar	Df	Īaigadh	Bd
Dūpād	Hf	Īaldrug	Ee
Elūra (Ellora)	Da	Īālihāl	Ee
Elūra	Je	Īālūā	Db

⁷⁷ In the historical MSS. Chandan and Wandhan are always mentioned together, as if they were one place.

Jam h ur	Ee	Klati o	Cd
Ja iboti	Cf	Khe l	Be
Jamk l a i	De	Khelna (see Visl alga jh)	
Ju k l e l	De	Klondani (S nbgallh)	Be
Janjura	Be	Kuttur	Cf
Jath	Dd	Koçekal	Fe
Jawl ar	Bb	Kokatu ur	Le
Jeur	Ch	Kol r	De
Judl an	Bb	Kolhapur	Co
Junnar	Bb	Kon lipalli	Jo
K gal	Ce	Kor luvir (or Munir nagar)	Jo
Kaladga	De	Kop l	Ef
Kalam	Ga	Kopargion	Cb
Kalburga	Ed	Koreg on	Cd
Kalgi atka	Df	Kot gir	Fe
Kalyani Pet	Ge	Kovakonda	Go
Kalabour	Gd	Koyer (Kol ir)	Fd
Kalyan s	Bb	Kubkanur	Ef
Kalyani	Id	Kulbarga (see Kalburga)	
Kam mangi	Fe	Kundgol	Df
Kambampet (Kamamet)	Id	Kuraudval	Ce
Kampli	Ef	Kurtboli	Df
K ank g r	Ef	Kushtagi	Ef
Kanbari	De	Lah gadh (see Lun gadh)	
Kandhar	Fe	Laksmeshvar	Df
Kanker	Ja	Lavari	Id
Karhal (Kar d)	Cd	Lonar (Salt Lake)	Eb
Karajgi	Dd	Lahgad (properly Lohogadh)	Be
Karinja	Fa		
Karjat	De	Vel lipatnam	Jo
Karm la	De	Madhol	De
Karnul	Gf	Madikebra	Ff
Katargadh	Df	Mal im	Ab
Kaulas	Ie	Mahimangadh	Cd
Khanapur	Cd	Malur	Fb
Kh/n pur	Ce	Maktal	Fe
Kharda	Ce	Malangur	He
*Kharep fan	Be	Malegi on	Ca

Mall pur	La	Naig in l	Df
M l l l l	Id	N sikh	Bb
M l v i	Bo	Nan _o ion	Db
Mandg on	Ga	Naval _o ni d (Nav la _o ni la)	Df
Mandwa	De	Nev a i	Ci
M i d ar	Ca	Nidada ul (Nardo)	Jo
Mangalvedla	Dd	Nikon	Bc
M a g r ū l	Pa	Nip ni	Co
M n k l a n n l	Db	Niz mpatrum	If
M u k p ŋ	Ca	Pa thra ²	Db
Manoh	Df	Pali	Bc
Manur	Db	Pandl wpar	Dd
Medak	Ge	Pandugadh	Bo
Med i yen Kota	Eo	Pangal	Go
Mehk r	Ea	Pa i b l i	Co
Miraj	Co	Parasgadh	Df
M srikot	Df	Puenda	De
Moranjan	Bc	Pargi	F i
M ddebul ul	Io	P r oér	Ob
Mudgal	Ef	Part i gadh	Bl
Mulgund	Df	Petan (see Rudi)	
Munagi l	Hd	Pathai li	Db
Mundaroi (or Saiyidab d)	Ed	Patan Cleru	Gl
Mundargi	Co	P thri	Eb
Mundargi	Di	Patti	Bb
Mungi	Db	Pl altan	Cc
Musalakal	Fe	P palg on	Db
Muski	Ef	Pirga on	Bc
Nagarharnul	Ge	Pooni	Cc
N gotu i	Bc	Prach tga li	Bl
Naldn _g (or Si hdn _g)	Ed	Purandl ar	Cc
Nalguni	Hd	Rael ol	Cf
N nd r (N ndur)	Fb	R dal on li	lf
Nandg ou	Pa	R l u r i	Cb
Nai i y m oadh	Cb	Rā l g	C
Nir yankleda	Fe	Ra, cl ur	Io
N r yanpur	Gd	Rajamal en ² (R j m n l i)	Il
N regal	Df	R j k all	lc

Râjpurî	Be	Suâr	Ce
Râjâkoudâ... ..	Gd	Sivâtâl	Ee
Râmdrug	Df	Songir (Soukehr)... ..	Be
Rimding	Fo	Shrimantgadh	Df
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Ratnâgiri	Bd	Takli	Da
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Rusod	Lb	Tankhî	Ca
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Sangam	Fd	Terdal	De
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Sangamér	Ch	Ther	Ec
Sângali	Ce	Tisgion	Ca
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Sankeshvar	Ce	Trimbak	Bb
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